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## Near East/South Asia Report

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27 April 1984

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HOPE FOR ARAB MEDIATION EFFORTS IN GULF WAR FADES

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 369, 17 Mar 84 pp 30-31

[Article by Sulayman Nimr: "Baghdad Is Giving Up All Hope of Successful Mediation Attempts in the Gulf War"]

[Text] Even 2 weeks ago, the Arab countries of the Gulf believed that it was possible Iran would accept some proposals aimed at putting an end to the Iran-Iraq War, especially after successive Iranian attacks failed to achieve any military victory on the front with Iraq. Until the beginning of this month, the Gulf countries believed that military developments along the Iraqi front and the collapse of the Iranian attacks would force Tehran to accept the proposals of former Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme, which consist of six articles.

However, the information obtained by the countries of the Arabian Gulf all confirmed the Iranian government's refusal to accept any mediation efforts or any compromise proposals for putting an end to this war. This was demonstrated by the Iranian response to the letter sent by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad, the foreign minister of Kuwait, to Tehran last February, and by the contacts made by several Arab and international parties (including Algeria and the United Nations). This information moved Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal to call in the Iranian charge d'affaires in Saudi Arabia last Wednesday in order to ask him for the facts about his country's position, which rejects any attempt to mediate between it and Iraq. The information that reached the Gulf capitals also reached all the Arab capitals. Therefore, when Iraq called for an emergency meeting of the Arab foreign ministers, the invitation was to discuss the Iranian position alone, while Iraq was aiming at "asking the Arabs to shoulder their responsibilities and duties with respect to the war in which Iraq is engaged, for there is no longer any reason to believe or hope that Iran will accept any mediation or pacification efforts." As Iraq's foreign minister and prime minister, Tariq 'Aziz, put it to AL-MUSTAQBAL last Tuesday, the position Baghdad wanted was "a collective Arab position, not an Iraqi position; a practical and effective position, not one that depends on words of criticism and condemnation." However, this practical position desired by Iraq from the Arabs -- as official sources in Baghdad put it -- does not mean providing Iraq with financial and military assistance, "because Iraq does not need this assistance. It is capable of remaining steadfast in the face of the

Iranians. Indeed, it is capable of deciding the war, if the appropriate political atmosphere is made available." Mr Tariq 'Aziz told AL-MUSTAQBAL: "Iraq has plans by which it can decide the battle with the Iranian enemy and end it in its own favor."

But how?

Official Iraqi circles have not stated any information in this regard, but Arab diplomatic circles in Baghdad have said that Iraq has weapons it has not used yet because of its desire to leave the way open for quieting the war until the last moment. This will be the moment in which Iraq can bear no more. The countries of the Arabian Gulf fear this moment, because the battle shall then be comprehensive. It will be a "bone-breaking" battle, and this means it will extend to the entire Gulf region. Thus, the worry of the Gulf countries dominated the atmosphere at the meetings of the foreign ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, who met in Riyadh last Saturday and Sunday. These meetings preceded the convening of the emergency conference of Arab foreign ministers in Baghdad.

As a minister from a Gulf state put it, the worry in the Gulf "is not caused by fear for Iraq's military situation." Through their recent attacks, the Iranians were able to enter Iraqi territory for only a few days before being thrown back. As the minister added, the worry has two causes:

First: there is a fear that the situation could explode in a complete and final fashion, thereby causing the flames and fire of the war to spread all through the region of the Gulf countries. This would engender intervention on the part of the great powers, under the excuse of assuring the flow of oil to the western world.

Second: Iran has confirmed its continuing rejection of any mediation or peace efforts aimed at putting an end to its war with Iraq. This means the war will continue, as will the drain on the military and human resources of Iraq and the material resources of the Gulf states, even if the situation were to explode completely and finally.

The second reason has led the GCC countries to announce clearly for the first time -- after the conclusion of the meeting of their foreign ministers in Riyadh last week, which lasted for 21 hours over a day and a half -- that they are demanding a unified Arab position on Iran's rejection of all peace initiatives. They are also demanding the implementation of the resolutions made at the Arab summit in Fes, which call for the application of the mutual defense treaty. The second reason also caused the Gulf states and the other Arab countries to agree to Iraq's call for an emergency meeting of the Arab foreign ministers in Baghdad.

When the Arab foreign ministers, or their representatives, arrived in Baghdad last Tuesday, they found themselves confronted by the draft of a proposed united Arab resolution Iraq was suggesting be issued at the meeting's end. The most important headings of the proposed resolution were:



A declaration by the Arab states of their complete support for Iraq in its war with Iran. They would criticize Iran's positions, which reject the peace initiatives, and announce their readiness to apply the Arab mutual defense treaty. The Fes summit called for it to be put into action.

The formation of a working committee representing the Arab foreign ministers. It would follow up on the implementation of these resolutions.

During the collateral and bilateral meetings held last Tuesday, which took place in the halls and rooms of the al-Rashid Hotel in Baghdad, where the conference was held, the Iraqi foreign minister explained why such resolutions were necessary. Among the reasons he gave was this: "Iraq has exhausted all means of stopping the war with Iran. This is something the Arabs know better than anyone else. Now the Arabs have to bear their responsibility with Iraq in the defense of the security of the Gulf and the Arab nation." The Iraqi foreign minister said, "If the Arabs take this position, the great powers will put political pressure on Iran in order to halt its war against Iraq." In the opinion of the Iraqis, this position means that Iran will not accept any Arab mediation efforts in its war with Iraq, because in this proposed resolution, the Arabs will become a party in the war against Iran. It is this point in particular -- by which the Arabs become a party to the war against Iran -- that has given many Arab foreign ministers pause, especially those from the GCC countries. Therefore, when Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal arrived at the place he was staying in last Tuesday evening and met with the Iraqi minister of foreign affairs, who explained to him the reasons for this resolution, the Saudi foreign minister requested that the announcement of the opening session be postponed until Wednesday morning, so that more consultations might be conducted about this proposed resolution. The foreign ministers of the Gulf countries and some Arab foreign ministers do not want to cut the lines to Tehran once and for all. They want to announce that they are standing with Iraq, because Tehran has rejected all peace initiatives, but they also want to leave the door open in the future to the possibility of international action designed to pressure Tehran into accepting a peace initiative. Therefore, from Tuesday evening until Wednesday morning -- the day before yesterday -- intense, multilateral consultations were held in an attempt to agree on a unified Arab resolution. In fact, before they entered the conference hall at 10 am Wednesday, the ministers succeeded in working out a unified Arab resolution, after many changes had been made in the suggested resolution proposed by Iraq. The most important thing in this unified Arab resolution was the call for a follow-up committee, which would be formed by the Arab foreign ministers and follow upon the execution of this conference's decisions. This committee would be composed of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the PLO, Jordan, and Morocco.

During the opening session of the conference of Arab foreign ministers, both the foreign minister of North Yemen, who chaired the activities of the emergency conference, and the general secretary of the League of Arab States, Mr Chadli Klibi, noted in their addresses that the Arab states had begun to change their tone on the subject of the Iran-Iraq War. They said that this tone had begun to take on the character of support and backing for Iraq in its acceptance of all the peace initiatives. Indeed, the foreign minister



of North Yemen called during his address for the application of the Fes summit resolution calling for the enforcement of the Arab mutual defense treaty.

But though the Arab states are announcing their support for Iraq's acceptance of all the peace initiatives and their condemnation of Iran's invasion of Iraqi territory, they do not want to cut their lines to Tehran once and for all. This is the position which the conference of Arab foreign ministers succeeded in displaying.

12224

CSO: 4404/400

LEBANESE, SYRIAN PRESIDENTS CONSULT ON PEACE

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 368, 10 Mar 84 pp 12-13

[Article: "Al-Asad Tells al-Jumayyil, We Will Not Accept a Victorious Party and a Vanquished One in Lebanon"]

[Text] Immediately after the Lebanese cabinet meeting last Monday afternoon, Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad telephoned Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil, assuring him of his sympathy and readiness to offer "all support and assistance from Syria to restore peace to Lebanon."

That was the first telephone call between the two presidents since their meeting last week in Damascus, in which the Syrian president expressed his support for the Lebanese president and his understanding of the difficult job that he bore on his shoulders. AL-MUSTAQBAL has learned from informed sources that the Syrian president told the Lebanese president that he would not agree to there being a victor and a vanquished in Lebanon and that "what Syria wants is equality among the Lebanese and a balanced and reasonable dialogue, free of convulsions and the flexing of muscles."

The sources said that this telephone call between the two presidents was in the context of a Syrian attempt to encourage the Lebanese government and to let it know of the absolute Syrian support for the leadership of the course of salvation once again, after Lebanon decided to reject the 17 May Agreement, taking on all the consequences of what might happen as a result. With regard to this Lebanese fear, Damascus hastened last Tuesday to announce that "Syria would strongly respond to any attack occurring against Lebanon, from whatever quarter and no matter what its size."

Republicans Palace sources in B'abda confirm that the agreement between Presidents al-Jumayyil and al-Asad was complete and included all the issues, including the future of the withdrawals and support for Lebanon whenever part of its territory is subjected to permanent Israeli occupation.

7005

CSO: 4404/388

IRANIAN BATTLE TACTICS, GOALS ANALYZED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 48, 10 Mar 84 pp 19-20

[Article by Diyab Nabahan: "Expansion Is Possible, Dangers of Escalation Exist"]

[Text] The forgotten war, which the Iraqi-Iranian war was called a few months after it started in the beginning of September 1980, was not entirely an objective description. The war, with all its situations and surprises, is causing anxiety and fear, with regard to its repercussions and consequences, and requires a discussion of the expansion of its scope, which so far has remained confined to Iraq and Iran.

International and regional quarters and parties had hoped that this war would in fact become forgotten. There is no doubt that they try to forget it, but they cannot ignore what could result from it. Its burning in an easily destroyed, immensely vital area has caused it, i.e., the war, to impose itself as one of the most dangerous of current issues and an intense source of tension which threatens world security and peace. The world today is frustrated and is clearly unable to do any thing that could make Iran stop this war. If the UN and the rest of the international bodies have not shown sufficient ability to end the war, despite the laws and customs and charges used by the international organizations to strengthen their efforts to put an end to it, there are some international parties and quarters that are still eager for it to continue, because it is necessary that this war continue in the state of impasse that the Iranian regime has created, through its rejection of all attempts to stop it and its renunciation of the international resolutions that call for its end. The latest of these is Security Council resolution 540, issued on 31 October 1983.

Vacillating Mediation

In addition to that, mediation in the war has been shaped, including the latest efforts, in accordance with the heat and intensity of the battles, and throughout the year by the fire that emerges from its midst. Whenever some development or other appears on the horizon that indicates that the heat of battle will be based on a new development or shifted to a new area outside of the borders of the two countries, threatening the interests

of nations concerned with the Gulf (as an area vital for them), then the mediation movement heats up and the political and diplomatic activities expand. But whenever the roar of the artillery and tanks diminish and the fires of battle subside relatively, the mediation initiatives calm down, the international efforts slack off and the political activity is suspended, or almost. This leaves the other parties to play their role behind the scenes to prolong the war and to retain the state of impasse.

Military and political observers of the war's developments agree that its resolution by military means is impossible, since Iran, ( ) from now on and in the aftermath of its great failure, which it sustained on the banks of Hawr al-Hawizah, at East Basrah and at East Maysan, is no longer capable of carrying out any military action of strategic value. This is true even though the Iranian side insists on prolonging the war and has entered into what could be called a war for the sake of war. The concentric circles of the major attack, or the decisive attack which Iranian officials have discussed, and emphasizing more than once that it would be the end of the war, were smashed in the battles of Hawr al-Hawizah and East Basrah, which continued for a full week, lasting from 24 February to 1 March. Those battles, for the most part, ended the danger of the Iranina attack, which a Western military expert described as, in fact, a major one but only in the size of human losses and the terrible damage that has begun to burden Iran.

Thus far the Iranian forces have lost eight military divisions from the army, the Guard, and Basij [mobilization] forces, in addition to seven independent military brigades. The British military expert, General (Newt) McDonald, who is a specialist in Gulf affairs and who has asserted that a number of Israeli military experts participated in drawing up the Iranian plan of attack against the Hawr al-Hawizah area, described the collapse of the Iranina attack as a military catastrophe unmatched in Gulf history. The Iranian forces attempted to breach the Iraqi military defenses, fortifications and positions, beginning this attack on the 16th of February, by hurling thousands of Guards and volunteers against them, following by infantry, in order to achieve their goal of a foothold in the Iraqi forward positions. When that was accomplished, according to the account of a senior Iraqi official, they would have brought up the rest of their weapons, led by armor, in order to develop the offensive or to expand the breach, and continue the human momentum. However, that attempt ended in failure, and they did not succeed in other later attempts to widen the breach. The Iraqi forces created an awesome fire barrier in depth, in which numerous types of weapons took part, including tanks, artillery, fighter aircraft, helicopters and missiles. This separated the forward Iranian sectors from the rear echelons, which resulted in weakening the possibility of reinforcing the forward Iranian elements and, consequently, they were crushed and destroyed. Thus, these Iranian attacks were added to the list of previous Iranian failures.

The military observers noted that the Iranians used air power, after a lapse of about 3 years, which was interpreted as an Iranian desire to end the war which, in Iran, has created internal problems and crises that the regime has been unable to deal with in light of the war's continuation.

#### From Limited to Comprehensive

Additionally, one can say that the war has shifted from a stage of border confrontations in specific and selected areas at times to a comprehensive war, from the tactic of using military brigades in battles to the use of military divisions. The results that the battles have so far produced indicate that from a scientific viewpoint Iran has lost the war. Despite that, Tehran's persistence in continuing it makes the possibility of its growth and expansion ever present. Despite Iraq's clear victory, it has announced the start of a blockade of the Iranian ports spread along the eastern Gulf coast. Its Air Force, on 27 February, struck at oil tankers and freighters heading for Khark Island and the port of Bandar Khomeyni and sank several of them. A spokesman for the general command of the Iraqi Armed Forces affirmed Iraq's determination to strike at any naval target in the vicinity of Khark Island or the other Iranian ports. He repeated Iraq's warning to the maritime companies and all nations of the world about sending merchant ships and tankers to the Gulf region.

The Iraqi spokesman pointed out that "Iraq would not stand idly by in view of the Iranians' continued rejection of Security Council resolution 540 and the continuation of the unnatural situation that deprives Iraq of its right to gain benefit from its resources and installations in the Arab Gulf, while Iran is benefitting widely from its ports and installations."

The Iraqi spokesman went on to say: "After fulfilling its moral and practical obligations to the Security Council and to the cause of security and stability in the region, and after giving sufficient opportunity for the application of that resolution, Iraq must assert its natural right to defend its fundamental interests and to strike at the interests of the Iranian regime wherever they may be."

#### World Reactions

In addition, Iraq's announcement about the start of a blockade against Khark Island and the Iranian ports stirred up widespread reactions in various parts of the world, whether by international insurance companies or maritime firms or the nations that do business with Iran. The Japanese Tankers' League and the Japanese Federation issued a joint statement in Tokyo, requiring that Japanese ships not be allowed to go to the Gulf region, while the Indian government warned its merchant ships about going to Iranian ports, as did the Japanese government. Lloyds of London Insurance Company has raised insurance rates more than once for ships going to Iranian ports. The Iranian side has repeated its old threats concerning closing the Straits of Hormuz, as attributed to the Iranian president, who threatened that Iran would resort to closing the Straits

in the event Iranian oil exports were stopped. George Shultz, the American secretary of state, has repeatedly threatened that Washington would try to protect its interests by diplomatic means, while also pointing out that there was a role for force as well. The Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] nations are living through war conditions in all their particulars and the climate of fear and anxiety and accountability is settling on them. 'Abdallah Bisharah, the secretary general of the GCC staged that the Straits of Hormuz were international straits more than Gulf straits. They are not only considered an oil artery, but rather an artery on which life in the Gulf depends. The responsibility for closing or opening it is not a Gulf responsibility so much as an international one. The war and its repercussions are one of the biggest onslaughts that the Gulf faces. There is unusual movement and activity in the GCC nations, and there are also contacts with the Iranian side on the part of Kuwait and the UAE, which political circles interpret as an attempt to support Gulf mediation again. For its part, Iraq gave Iran a valuable opportunity, when it announced that it would avoid the loading facilities on Khark Island at the present time, while implementing the policy of strategic strangulation through the blockade that it is imposing on the Iranian ports.

Therefore, the war that they called forgotten is no longer forgotten. On the contrary, it never has been. Iran, which has always maintained that this war was not a war between two countries but a war of liberation for Islam, and the Iranian regime which is officially pledged to a philosophy that justifies interference in the internal affairs of neighboring countries on the pretext that it is responsible for insuring the wellbeing of those countries, has shut all the doors and windows to attempts to stop the war. This is so that others can reap the fruits of this philosophy and the benefits of this persistence. The battles have not stopped, although their intensity has diminished during the last few days. However, the possibility of escalation is strong, and the possibility of the explosions and the spread of the tongues of fire outside the borders of the two countries exist. Whenever this occurs, one might not be able to extinguish the fire, and the others who are eager for the war to continue and be prolonged might not be able to bear the dreadful consequences that will be forthcoming.

7005

CSO: 4404/388

IRAN SPONSORS CHARITY PROJECTS IN UAE

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 21 Mar 84 p 2

[Text] IRAN's Red Crescent Society spends Dh 20 million every year on administering its hospitals in the UAE and is prepared to spend more if necessary on the cause of alleviating human suffering.

This was stated by Dr Waheed Dastjardi, secretary-general of the society who has been visiting the UAE on an inspection tour of Iranian hospitals.

Dr Dastjardi told a Press briefing yesterday that this budget did not include the cost of medicines, materials and equipment used in treatment. These are supplied free by Iran which is the largest producer of basic medicines in the area--production achieved at a fraction of the cost realised from poor countries by Western producers

He said he was here to look into the hospitals' operational problems such as supply of medicine and equipment which the society would endeavour to smooth out so that demand was quickly met. Dr Dastjardi also sorted out an accommodation problem for staff at the hospitals with the approval of a contract to construct 48 flats. Some of the flats would also be used to accommodate teachers at Iranian educational establishments in Dubai which had also faced similar problems.

He said the society was keen not only to maintain but also expand its hospital facilities so that no patient who needed treatment was turned away for lack of room or medicine. If this entailed further expenditure the society was ready for it, even though its resources were stretched by the demands made on its capabilities by casualties of the war.

Dr Dastjardi's inspection visit has followed the posting to Dubai recently of a new Red Crescent Society director, Dr Ahmed Farzan.

CSO: 4400/218



BRIEFS

IRAQI POWS EXECUTED--Informed Iranian sources have revealed that a group of Iraqi prisoners, estimated at about 80, were executed in Iran last month, because these persons refused to join "the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq," which considers itself the "Provisional Iraqi Revolutionary Government." The executions took place before a large group of Iraqi prisoners in a large Iranian camp. [Text] London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 212, 3-9 Mar 84 p 8] 7005

IRAQI COMMUNIST LOSSES--AL-MAJALLAH has learned that a great hubbub was stirred up in the ranks of the Iraqi Communist Party, following the losses that its forces sustained in the area of Northern Iraq, when they carried out sabotage operations which coincided with the Iranian attack against the area and which were aimed at weakening the resistance of the Iraqi army. Among the criticisms directed at the leadership were reliance on kinship and personal friendship in selecting cadres, control by militarists in the party over its policies and directions, exaggeration in estimating the party's strength and contempt for "the Iraqi authorities' ability to maneuver." [Text] [London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 213, 10-16 Mar 84 p 9] 7005

CSO: 4404/388



TURKISH REACTION TO BBC INTERVIEW OF ARMENIAN CATHOLICOS

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 8 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] London, HURIYET -- The head of the Armenian Church in the United States, Europe and the Middle East, Karekin, who insists that he is Catholicos of Cilicia, gave a televised interview in a BBC radio broadcast during which, full of spite against the Turks, he exhorted all Armenians to not abandon the hope of returning one day to their lands.

Karekin II, who is currently established in Lebanon and is on a par with the head of the church in Soviet Armenia, pointed out that the return of the Armenians cannot be realized immediately, but he called on them to "keep the flame of hope burning."

When the BBC correspondent asked, "What hopes do the Armenians entertain about the future? Do they hope to return to their fatherland eventually? Do they think they can continue holding to their religious faith in the various countries of the world or are they contemplating joining the rest of the Christian world?" Catholicos Karekin II gave the following answer:

"Following the 1915 genocide, the Armenians are at present going through a period of revival. Once again they have the feeling of their uniqueness as a nation and their numbers have reached the pre-genocide figure, but they find themselves dispersed throughout the world. Among the Armenians, there are groups with differing viewpoints. For some, Soviet Armenia represents their fatherland, whereas there are others who have adopted as a homeland the country where they are living.

"I am convinced that a return to the homeland does not mean a return immediately. But we should not lose the hope that one day we will regain our lands completely. This is so because no one can foretell how history will evolve. Years ago, we were in Cilicia, now we are in Lebanon. For this reason, we should remain alert and in a state of readiness so that, if the present world order were to change, we would not miss our chance..."

Prof Dr Halouk Ulman, writing in HURIYET under the title "What Kind of Religious Pronouncements Are These?" points out that the BBC is not a publishing firm under the direct control of the British government. He adds, "But what does Her Majesty's government think when an institution such

as this permits a clergyman, speaking on a so-called religious program, to indulge openly in Armenian propaganda, declaring Turkish soil to be Armenian soil (although he knows this is an absolute delusion) and to plead for the return of that land?

"What about the BBC itself, that publishing firm which boasts that it is neutral and reflects nothing but the truth? Does it believe that the words of the Armenian clergyman were nothing but religious pronouncements? How could such blatant propaganda, which encourages and inspires hope but is directed against the territorial integrity of Turkey, find a place in a religious program? And the Turkish Government? What is it going to do against this propaganda interview, which has appeared in an organ of a publishing firm whose word is listened to by millions of people? Naturally, nothing but the dispatch of ineffective and reticent letters of protest, as usual.

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CSO: 4605/48

## PROBLEMS OF POPULATION GROWTH EXAMINED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 20 Mar 84 p 16

[Article by Fodil Ourabah]

[Text] As 1984 begins, the resident Algerian population is estimated at 21 million. By way of comparison, it was 10.5 million in 1962, rose to 17.5 million in 1978 and, according to projections by statisticians, will be 34.5 million in the year 2000--that is, in another 16 years. Those few figures are a blunt illustration of the dimensions being assumed by the phenomenon of population growth in our country.

It is not really necessary to manipulate figures, charts, curves, and rates to get a general idea of the "vigor" of population growth in our society. The phenomenon is so obvious and the atmosphere in the street is enough by itself! Each in his own way--the railway employee holding back waves of passengers every day, the department store clerk facing interminable chains of consumers at her cash register all day long, and the primary school principal being confronted with growing numbers of more pupils than he can handle from one school year to the next--can tell you almost as much about the subject, essentially, as the most refined statistics. For that matter, see for yourself the crowds coming out of the schools at the end of the day, the throngs in the markets, the growth of villages, and the suffocation of the cities.

Particularly in the major urban centers, there is now a widespread (and perhaps erroneous?) opinion that our country is overpopulated. That point of view is deeply rooted among older people, an example being the old lady who has been the concierge in a building in downtown Algiers for 20 years. She has her own benchmarks for comparison: "Things were very peaceful for me when I first got this job. I would clean the stairs every other day, and the building was always clean. There was no noise. There were only about 15 children on all six floors. But 10 years ago, things began to take off, and they have gone from bad to worse ever since. There is a constant coming and going on the stairs... noise all day long... overflowing trash cans.... And, too, there are so many children that I wonder if even their parents can name them. It's infernal; the place is crawling with them (sic!)." Is she just an irascible concierge? Perhaps. But it doesn't matter, because there must be a grain of truth in what she says.

In general, the man in the street experiences the effects of population growth as one element in the deterioration of the setting of life. One old resident of Algiers, otherwise very polite and exuding that charming, somewhat old-fashioned refinement in his speech that is so characteristic of people living in the Casbah, vented his anger: "What are we coming to? What are we coming to with all these people? Every time you leave your house, you are asphyxiated by the crowd."

"People jostle you, knock you around, and crush you. It's impossible to take a walk anymore. It's always a contest to see who can get there first. I have lived in Algiers all my life, and I can tell you, it makes me dizzy." He continued: "In my day, people had many children--I had eight brothers and sisters, and I myself had 11 children. Two died, so I have nine left. But times have changed, and life is no longer the same. And I don't believe that people have the right any longer to have so many children."

To see the same situation in another context, let us look at a mountainside village in the Bejaia region. On the opposite hillside, an elderly man pointed with his finger and said: "Over there is Ighil-Ialouanene. A little farther up to the right is Tarekt, and still farther to the right is Ikrourene, while just below that is Tarezout. And on the left is Tizi-Neftah. Fifteen years ago, each of those villages was completely separate from the others. Each had its own fountain and mosque. Now they all run together in one built-up area. People began building on the land between the villages, and the villages eventually grew together. The problem is that the population has increased so much that the fountains no longer supply enough drinking water."

#### Some Basic Notions of Population Study

In fact, population pressure has become so strong that it has come to be a generally acknowledged fact. The difference is that everyone sees the phenomenon from a different perspective. For the statistician and planner, it is expressed first and foremost in figures. At the National Office of Statistics, close attention is paid to an annual updating of the results of the 1977 General Census of Population and Housing as a way of estimating population changes. The method is relative simple. Records of vital statistics are used to add up all births on one side and all deaths on the other. The difference between the two, naturally, constitutes the growth in population. As an indication, the population increased by 593,000 in 1980, 615,000 in 1981, 636,000 in 1982, and 658,000 in 1983.

The purpose of population study is to determine general trends in the number of people on the basis of objective data. The primary fact revealed by such study is the steady and rapid growth of the Algerian population. Following a long period of stabilization and even sharp decline during the second half of the 20th century [as published; presumably 19th century intended]--due to the genocide practiced by the colonial expeditionary corps--Algeria's population has increased steadily since the start of this century. That growth is explained by several social and cultural factors, among them the strong trend toward a rising birth rate, which was an unconscious form of popular resistance to colonial conquest and settlement. After 1962, the trend accelerated sharply,

and two reasons are advanced to explain that development. The first reason, subjective in nature, has been noted by demographers at all times and in all latitudes: following wars, there is always a sharp rise in the birth rate to compensate for the human lives lost. The other reason is completely objective: it is the steadily falling death rate, due in this instance to the gradual but noticeable improvement in living conditions for the Algerian population since independence.

Our demography is characterized by a very high birth rate that is continuing to rise: there were 818,000 births in 1980, 840,000 in 1981, 865,000 in 1982, and 891,000 in 1983. It is predicted that there will be 1,327,000 births in the year 2000. On the other hand, the death rate is dropping steadily. This particular phenomenon is linked to the population's improved living conditions within the general framework of economic and social development and expanding health care for the population. Life expectancy at birth rose from 53.4 years in 1970 to nearly 60 years in 1982. That improvement is itself linked to the development and effectiveness of the network of maternal and child care centers and the increase in the number of assisted births. Infant mortality declined from 145 per 1,000 in 1970 to 122 per 1,000 in 1976 and then to 98.5 per 1,000 in 1981.

To establish projections concerning future trends in the total population, demographers use the age structure of the population. And everyone knows that the Algerian population is extremely young. A single figure demonstrates this: the number of children under 6 years of age is 5 million, or nearly one-fourth of the total population. And that is in fact the characteristic which shows the full intensity and extent of the population problem in our country. For one thing, it means that regardless of the measures adopted or those likely to be adopted, population growth will continue to become more pronounced over the next few decades. This is an objective phenomenon which the experts call the phenomenon of inertia in demography. Mr Benzine, an adviser to the Ministry of Social Protection, explained it to us very mathematically: "There are currently 4.5 million women between 15 and 49 years of age--that is, in their reproductive years. All the women who will reach child-bearing age in the year 2000 have already been born. There will then be 9 million of them. This means that even if we assume that the birth rate is going to be reduced by half--a perfectly illusory assumption--we will still have the same number of births. And that is a sizable number."

#### Weight of Social Needs

Population pressure generates a corresponding pressure to meet social needs. The demand for food, housing, and jobs increases as the population increases. The relationship seems obvious. But obvious facts often conceal basic truths, and that is why we must be careful not to fall into simplistic responses such as the delusion that the best way to meet social needs would be to reduce population growth or that the gap in meeting those needs is due exclusively to the population explosion. That being said, the fact nevertheless remains that the rate of population growth in our country (one of the highest in the world) is a serious handicap when it comes to satisfying the needs of the population and--who knows?--perhaps even an obstacle to development.

In the area of housing, the draft 5-year plan notes that between 1966 and 1977, "Algeria's population increased by 5.5 million. During that period, the supply of housing increased by 475,000 units. That growth corresponded in fact to only 40 percent of the new needs expressed during that period." In 1982, the supply of housing was estimated at just over 2.5 million units, nearly 500,000 of which (18 percent) were makeshift dwellings, shacks, huts, and other structures (garages, cellars, and furnished rooms) used as housing. The crisis in housing can be seen in the high rate of occupancy per room. That rate totaled 2.69 persons per room in 1982. At that time, it was estimated that at least 20,000 households of 11 persons or more lived in one-room dwelling units. By some estimates, it will be necessary to build nearly 4.5 million housing units in the next 15 years. That works out to 250,000 units per year. By way of comparison, about 120,000 units per year are currently being built.

In the field of employment, it is noted that between 1979 and 1982, the number of jobs increased by 404,000, while the population is estimated to have grown by 1,664,000 persons. It is very obvious that the shortfall is not being reflected immediately in a great deal of tension on the job market for two reasons: first, the percentage of working women is extremely small. Second--and most important--the age structure of Algeria's population is characterized by the extremely young average age. But the growth in population means a potential demand for jobs that is going to be expressed in years to come.

There were a total of 3.7 million jobs in 1980. It is estimated that the number will have to rise to 8.5 million by the year 2000. In other words, it will be necessary to create 5 million new jobs between now and then, for an average of 250,000 per year beginning in 1985.

The same situation exists in schooling, because it is thought that in the year 2000, population in the basic schools will represent over one-fourth of the total population. It also exists in the fields of medical care, agricultural production, industrial production, and services.

"Population pressure? People have been talking about it constantly for over 10 years. And meanwhile, it keeps on growing." Behind the somewhat dry humor of that remark, one can see the deep concern that is the common lot of all those having to cope with the problem in one way or another. The population issue has always been under consideration, but not always in a consistent manner. In the late 1960's and 1970's, perception of the effects of population growth was already strong. But the country was then experiencing a sort of euphoria due to the prodigious boom in development and the beginnings of the economic takeoff.

In a country that had to be reconstructed and an economy that had to be built up from practically nothing, what loomed largest and in fact counted was all the schools, hospitals, and roads that were being built, the factories that were being set up, the construction sites opening up in increasing numbers, the El Hadjar project and the first pouring of steel, and the jobs being offered to tens of thousands of citizens for whom the only previous solution had been emigration. The prospects seemed unbounded as national sovereignty over the hydrocarbon reserves was affirmed and oil prices doubled, tripled, and then kept on rising even further.



But the reality of population was also stubborn. One could deny it or relegate it to a position of secondary importance, but it nonetheless continued on its underground course until the moment when it burst out in glaring expansion. The interest it is arousing is growing increasingly. The National Charter emphasizes that "steps must be taken to see that population growth does not wipe out the effects of economic growth and that, in the end, the race that seems to be underway between those two types of growth does not cause stagnation or a setback in the march to progress in terms of improved living conditions for the masses." The Public Health Code promulgated in 1976 establishes the framework of a national policy for limiting the number of births. Thinking concerning population problems gradually led to the Central Committee resolutions on health (December 1979), followed by those on the organization of the family (June 1983) and, later, the resolutions by the Fifth FLN Congress in December 1983. In March 1983, the government outlined an action program aimed at bringing population growth under control.

### Limiting Births

That program was aimed at reducing the number of births. Prof Malika Ladjali, who was a pioneer in efforts to protect mothers and children and who is an adviser to the Ministry of Health in charge of birth control programs, told us right away: "You can well imagine that this involves more than just technical activities." Professor Ladjali feels that if it is to be effective, implementation of the policy on birth control must include particular attention to action to modify the underlying and often unconscious motives behind the high birth rate. Those motives are basically cultural, psychological, and economic. "Take a woman who does not work and who stays home all day, occupied with her household chores. While waiting for the evening television program to begin, she has nothing with which to occupy her mind--reading, for example, is out of the question because most women cannot read. That woman has only one means of increasing her self-esteem--of asserting her status, so to speak--and that is to have children." Professor Ladjali also points out that the figures we have indicate that the percentage of large families increases as income level decreases. Explanation: the poorer people are, the more they want children. Children are their assets. For all those reasons and many others besides, contraceptive methods cannot come into general use except as a result of patient persuasion and the mobilization of resources for educating and informing families and increasing their awareness of the dangers to the physical and mental health of mother and child that are represented by a large number of pregnancies. From that standpoint, Professor Ladjali continues, priority attention must be paid to reducing the rate of infant mortality even further. One of the basic reasons for the very high birth rate is the fact that parents are not sure of their children's chances for survival, and this is because of the still excessive number of deaths occurring at birth or in early infancy.

In the population, awareness of the need to limit the number of births is as strong as it is confused. As far back as 1966, a survey by the AARDES [Algerian Association for Demographic, Economic and Social Research] reported these remarks by one mother: "Once you buy them their shoes, they need pants, and as soon as you buy them pants, they need shirts. And once you scrape together enough to buy them shirts, their shoes are worn out again.... So we have to

start all over without thinking of ourselves. That's what comes of having too many children." More recently, a young physician who took part in a survey in a commune 30 kilometers from Oran told us: "Without our even introducing ourselves to them as doctors, several young women in the commune asked us to bring them pills the next time we came. That request is often made behind the mother-in-law's back and with the husband's consent. The observation is a general one: a woman does not express a desire for contraception without her husband's consent. And that is the best attitude: the decision to employ contraceptive methods must be a decision freely reached by the couple."

But the desire to limit the number of births is still latent in most cases. It is often argued that contraception violates religious precepts. But that is wrong because in this area, Islam is one of the most liberal of religions. As early as 1968, the Higher Islamic Council issued a "fetwa" in which it is said that birth control is permitted provided, in particular, that "it is practiced on an individual basis in cases of existing or possible necessity involving the mother or her children, already born or to be born, and that the existence of the necessity in question is decided solely by those actually involved."

The infrastructure for limiting the number of births has been patiently and doggedly set up as part of the centers for the protection of mothers and children. There are currently 336 birth control centers. The number of new clients appearing at those centers for advice rose from 13,784 in 1974 to 124,603 in 1982. Despite the increase, results are still very inadequate. The staff in those centers received on-the-job training through courses made available to nurses. According to Professor Ladjali, the paramedical corps is clearly far ahead of the medical corps in this field.

Our doctors are not sufficiently informed concerning birth control methods. A module on birth control ought to be made part of the curriculum in medical training. It can be considered that the least one could expect from medical training in a country like ours is that every doctor would know how to deliver a baby. Unfortunately, that is far from being the case.

Professor Ladjali went on to say that in fact, the current structures could be utilized to even greater effect if information on contraceptive methods were more widely available in families. Our chief problem is that most people are unaware of the very existence of birth control centers. And she concluded by saying: "Above all, let no one accuse us of not liking children. On the contrary, I feel profound joy every time I see the explosion of life they produce in our streets. If we are working so hard on behalf of birth control, it is precisely so that these children can develop even further and live even better."

#### Psychologists on Large Families

"From the psychological standpoint, the optimum number of children per family is between two and three. Several studies conducted in various countries in Europe and the Americas have shown that in general, the scores achieved on intelligence tests grow steadily worse as the number of children in the family increases.



"In France in 1944, a group of psychologists organized a vast survey in which they tested about 100,000 school-children between the ages of 6 and 12. The results were eloquent. At every age between 6 and 12, the mental age of children who had no brothers or sisters was 1 or 2 years more advanced than that of children belonging to families with eight or more children.

"In 1947, a British psychologist observed the same phenomenon in a population of 1,215 Scottish children: the average IQ declined steadily from 113 in cases where there was only one child in the family to 91 in the case of children belonging to families with nine children. More recent studies in Italy, the United States, and the Netherlands have led to similar conclusions. All those studies note that the best results are found in families with two children, while the poorest results are found in large families. Moreover, the intellectual level declines (on average) with each succeeding child in the family." (Taken from the "Dictionary of Psychology" by Norbert Sillawy).

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DEVELOPMENT OF WILAYA OF ORAN ASSESSED

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1047, 16-22 Mar 84 pp 27-34

[Article by Kamel Zemouri: "Governorate of Oran: Slow But Sure"]

[Text] One thrust of the 4-year plan is to put the national economic apparatus on a profit making basis. At another level, through restructurings, reorganization and planning, we want to repay all these investments made at great sacrifice. The foundation of decentralization and regional balance must be established where we mean to create life, work and recreational activities. The 4 years is also a period when the grand-scale development pauses in its flight for a moment to look over its shoulder and then ahead.

At Oran, as elsewhere, there are no high-profile investments but rather in-depth projects which will be measured in terms of quality.

Nevertheless, that does not halt economic activity. Cement mixers and machines continued their beneficial work. The procedures to meet people's needs are being streamlined. Individuals are trying to solve Oran's water problem which is one of its most pressing problems and this is no small matter.

This does not mean that a policy of minimal growth has been adopted for the Governorate of Oran at present; on the contrary, everything now being done is a preparation for the future of this region in the western part of the country. Since the last administrative redistricting of national territory, Oran occupies .08 percent of Algeria's total surface. In this scheme of things, the governorate ranked 30th. There are three dairas in all and for all: Oran itself, Arzew and Mers-El-Kebir. They are nevertheless three rather unusual dairas. First, Oran covers two communes and

is a rapidly growing urban center. Next comes Arzew with Bethioua, the country's industrial flower. Finally, there is Mers-El-Kebir which will soon be raised to the rank of national shipyard. Although each governorate hides its peculiarities, Oran's stand out. Another feature is that the urban population represents 85.7 percent of the governorate's total population, approximately 840,000 people (with 615,000 inhabitants in the city of Oran). The region has advantages to organize this mass of humanity: plains represent one-half of the governorate's territory which makes all equipping and development activity easy; mountainous terrains or hard-to-reach areas are rare. The least we can say is that this governorate has some spacial distortions: people, economic activities and socio-cultural centers are concentrated in the main town of the governorate.

In spite of this, Oran does well and the dialogue between the city and its inhabitants is easy. To achieve this, first the services and then the business activities were decentralized. The people of Oran find in the outlying neighborhoods what they previously came for in the heart of the city. However, Oran must be restructured if it wishes to fulfill its many missions. Drastic measures must be taken to allow the city to enter an era of change.

On the whole, the governorate is well equipped although some imbalances remain. The program drawn up covers 767 projects (353 have been finished and 335 are in progress). There is always a "but," these famous RAR (incompleted projects) are rather numerous and involve crucial sectors: urban housing (37.5 percent of all incompleted projects), education-training (26.8 percent), economic infrastructures (10 percent) and finally subsidized infrastructures (8.9 percent).

We should point out that the equipment program has been granted a total sum--all methods of financing together-- of 13,552 billion dinars. When we evaluate the Governorate of Oran in 1983, we can identify certain objective constraints such as shortage of building materials, limited means of execution and delays caused by the studies and administrative procedures. However, the governorate used all its credits in 1983: the projects completed exceeded the payment credits. In comparison with 1982, 1983 stands out for using additional credits of 24.2 percent. A special effort was made in the PCD [Communal Development Programs].

This year the effort will not only continue but it will be increased five-fold to eliminate the backlog of incompleted projects from the preceding plans (the first and second 4-year plans).

Many projects--334, of which 207 have been completed, 194 are in progress, 23 have not been started and 4 have been removed from the list--remain from these two plans. In theory, these projects should be completed by late 1984.

We should mention that in this range of projects, the portion reserved for communal plans is sizable since the commune is assigned 160 projects.

At the planning directorate of the governorate, we were told that, "the financial effort in 1983 can be seen in the use of credits of approximately 1.185 billion dinars, from a total allocation of 1.266 billion dinars, or 93.59 percent," and to continue, "more work would have been done if the availability of credits for payments had been guaranteed...." There have been situations where payments have not been forthcoming and the most prominent are found in the areas of economic infrastructures, education-training, irrigation projects, urban housing, the PCD and the PMU [Urban Modernization Program].

The three poor relations, however, in this increase in expenditures are small and medium-size industry, subsidized infrastructures and project resources (see chart).

In comparison with fiscal year 1982, an evaluation of 1983 shows an increase in expenses of around 231,254,519.03 dinars--a 24.24 percent growth rate.

By sector, these increases are as follows:

The entire sectorial program is 21.87 percent, or 143,031,966.54 dinars, with the following breakdown:

Expenditures by Sector in 1983

PMI	-15,770,528.35 dinars	-72.68 percent
[Small and medium-size industry]		
Agriculture	+ 8,637,034.14 dinars	+78.17 percent
Water	+32,443,671.94 dinars	+112.98 percent
Economic infrastructure	+40,351,036.97 dinars	+17.17 percent
Education and training	+89,084,177.79 dinars	+34.11 percent
Subsidized infrastructures	-14,553,381.97 dinars	-17.72 percent
Administrative infrastructures	+ 4,556,293.42 dinars	+200.35 percent
Project resources	- 1,716,337.40 dinars	-14.40 percent
Urban housing	+33,796,576.41 dinars	+22.61 percent
PCD-PMU	+54,425,976.08 dinars	+36.13 percent

This drop can be explained: the PMI projects begun in 1980 and 1981 were finally in operation in late 1982 and early 1983. Three projects from the 1982 tranche were voluntarily frozen for objective reasons. The drop for subsidized infrastructures can be explained by the delays in carrying out the youth, cultural and health infrastructure projects, especially in the context of readying the ZHUN.

The work done in connection with project resources cannot be translated into statistics: it was mainly organization for a more profitable use of the patrimony. The governorate and communal enterprises were partially equipped in 1981 and 1982.

For the journalist and perhaps even more so for the photographer, it is difficult to get an overview of the changes wrought by the 4-year plan during its first 3 years. The approach is mainly financial, then statistical. Restructuring and efficient use of men and equipment are difficult to describe and depict.

This truth which underlies the philosophy of the 4-year plan can be applied to agriculture in the Governorate of Oran. A prolonged period of work has involved land improvements--increased yields of perennial crops, development and groupings of small species livestock and the renewal and improvement of irrigated lands and infrastructure projects.

There has been an innovation: using plastic hen houses to develop breeding which will place an additional 10,000 chickens/days on the market. In the 4-year plan, 114 poultry farms using plastic hen houses are listed.

The land has been farmed, good land which contradicts some critics who say that Oran is not an agricultural governorate. The experience in 1983 proves the contrary. Preparation of the soil has led to good yields: in cereals, it rose from 9 quintals per hectare in 1982 to 12 quintals this year; in fodder, from 26 to 32 quintals per hectare but the greatest effort apparently was made for export crops whose yield increased from 7.5 quintals in 1980/1981 to 20 quintals during the last harvest. Truck-garden crops will also share this success since they are expected to increase this year to 100 quintals per hectare, as compared with 46 in the 2 preceding years. In conclusion, more than 82 hectares were "developed" in 1983 and another 100 will be developed in 1984. Likewise, farming in green houses increased by 80 hectares. In Oran, we were told this basic truth--there is no usable farm land, only lands which are farmed or abandoned. This is a truth proved by experience in recent years.

The land has been classified. As a start, most of the land is fertile and this is very encouraging. The first goal is to expand regional food self-sufficiency. The second goal is to give the rural world its socio-economic importance. A balanced regional fabric has not been ignored because centers for stock raising and truck gardens have been set up around the governorate's urban centers. This is a far-sighted, honest way to preserve fertile lands which, without an owner, could be used as a storage area for state-owned equipment for which one can always find a place. It is also hoped that the farming areas can be fenced in, which creates responsibility and protects from all types of invasion.

In other matters, many infrastructure projects were begun last year: stables, hangars, CAPCS [Communal Multi-Service Agriculture Cooperatives] and cooperatives.

The agricultural sector currently uses 164 liters of water a second; under the heading of small-scale water projects related to agriculture, 15 wells have been dug and 115 have been cleaned out. This increases the yield and facilitates the development of irrigated truck gardens.

We cannot talk about Oran without mentioning one of its special problems--water. The shortage is endemic. Until a definitive solution is found, the approach is to manage this shortage. This water is allocated by selective cut offs so that all users--the inhabitants, agriculture and industry--can be satisfied.

There were many water restrictions last year despite the interest given to this sector in the 4-year plan. The agenda of the 1980 plan included increasing the staff and material resources, achieving a balanced distribution of the extension resources, expanding and rebuilding the supply networks for drinkable water and revising and carrying out some studies to pinpoint needs and their location in the governorate. These resolutions were not in vain as we shall see below.

The greatest improvement was the opening in 1982 of the water supply system from the Bredeah water table, an increase of 30,000 cubic meters a day which primarily benefited the city of Oran. In quantitative terms, the water projects completed in the first 3 years of the 4-year plan have had an impact which indicates that Oran's water problem will soon be solved. We can credit authorities with an additional 30,000 cubic meters a day which has increased water supplies to the area by 147,000 cubic meters a day since 1982. The storage capacity increased from 104,365 cubic meters in 1980 to 105,415 cubic meters in 1982. The supply network has been extended several dozen km.

In short, during these first 3 years of the plan, the rate of supplying water to the people rose from 78 percent to 85 percent which is considerable.

By pumping here and digging wells there (at Misserghin, "hysette," in the Murdjardo water table), some 20,000 cubic meters a day have been obtained. The dams which traditionally supply Oran and the surrounding area have become silted (Fergoug and Beni-Bahdel) so we must take this limitation into consideration and make what exists more efficient. Thus, 22 km of the Maflak water supply system has been repaired; repairs increased the volume of water by 6,000 cubic meters a day. In conjunction with this emergency program dictated by weather problems, the objectives planned continue to be carried out in 1983: 207 km of AEP network were laid of the 258 km called for in this plan. These water supply extension or repair projects (supplying or improvements) have reached more than 100 urban centers. Since September 1982, supplies to the Arzew industrial zone have increased by 5,000 cubic meters a day, provided by the new supply system.

The staff involved in water matters in Oran (we should mention here that the governorate does not have any hydraulic engineers) makes a three-pronged effort: it must be concerned about urgent problems, then about increasing water resources and finally about placing the problem in the context of urban expansion. The matter of greater Oran is under consideration. A study to improve the urban grouping by the year 2000 is planned.

In any area, the efforts made in the 4-year context can be evaluated perhaps in physical terms but basically and ultimately in qualitative terms which is most objective.

Thus, in daily life we can taste these first fruits of reorganization. All these in-depth projects go beyond the simple concern of improving the quality of life. In Oran, there is an amusement park which is not only a pleasure to look at but it allows children and parents to unwind on weekends. However, as soon as this park became operational, the need for a second one was felt. Some spaces were cleared with bulldozers for yesterday's children, now adolescents, but is that enough? Will these young people have no other alternative than kicking a ball on the spur of the moment? In Oran, the effort for youth in 1983 involved "reactivation" of some projects and "initiation of implementation studies" for other projects. In the academic sector, the efforts were meritorious--never have so many classrooms been opened in one year--212. In addition, we must add eight CEM [College of Intermediate Studies] and two vocational training centers. Moreover, some changes have made the school system more profitable, with an increase in the entrance fees for the first year of secondary school.

In higher education matters, the new urgently needed dormitory with 1,400 beds was completed and the dental institute was inaugurated a little over 2 months ago. Its mission is twofold: training and care for the public. Near Bir El-Djir, a functional, modern monster is rising out of the ground. It is the famous USTO, a bastion of culture, science and technology.

Basic housing and infrastructures have not been overlooked by progress, as we shall see more specifically in the next article on urban improvements in the capital of the west. In Oran, as everywhere else in our country, we are making progress by giant steps, without haste.

#### Water in Oran

The problem of water management and distribution has never been linked to the continual growth of needs and the economic expansion of these regions, much less with the growing needs of the people. These very resources have nourished the sectors of industry, farming and housing for 20 years. At the very most, drinking water supply systems were added and improvements made. The sources of supply had not been improved extensively and it was only in 1980 that a national water program capable of meeting the needs was instituted. The case of the Governorate of Oran is



significant. At the end of the second 4-year plan, 23.11 million dinars were left in the budget for the water sector.

Still in the western portion of the country, the Souani Dam (Maghnia daira, which is still not operational and which can be classed among the reserve solutions) was conceived not in connection with the Maghnia water table but as an overflow for the Beni-Bahdel Dam which supplies nearly 60 percent of the cities of the west and the industrial and agricultural sector.

The profile of the water table located in the western suburb of Oran is still not well known but it is promising; it is expected to be used in the distant future.

The Beni-Bahdel Dam then continues to be the west's only large reservoir and the one which always serves Oran (48,000 cubic meters a day).

Oran, which now has approximately 800,000 inhabitants, is thus supplied by this dam and the Fergoug, Bredeah and Misserghin Dams (1,500 cubic meters a day) and the Ras-El-Ain Dam which supplies less than 7,000 cubic meters a day. The 90,000 cubic meters of water which Oran receives every day scarcely meets half its real needs, even this quota will be decreased gradually if heavy rainfalls do not compensate for the short falls of the region's dams.

Supplying drinkable water to the urban population is not, unfortunately, the only concern of regional officials. The agricultural sector is also--and perhaps more so--at the mercy of major reductions.

Oran also has another difficulty: the city is not supplied by a single system but by four networks. Thus, it is subdivided into five distribution zones which draw their water from four supply sources, creating problems of balance, in addition to the quality and quantity of the water. It has been known for many years that drinking water does not flow from all faucets in Oran. Much of the population must transport it over long distances under more or less hygienic conditions. Finally, not all water pipes are always pressurized so there are risks of pollution and contamination.

The most typical example of this governorate's backwardness in the water sector is that of the Bredeah source. It was a project in the 3-year plan of 1966. This project has been reevaluated several times.

In 1968, 4.5 billion centimes were allocated for this project in a new reevaluation.

The projects of the 4-year plan, which include many operations to improve and expand the distribution networks and build supply systems for drinking water, have a total budget of 136,094,000 dinars; only a small part is allocated to finding new water sources.



## BANKS FOREIGN CURRENCY TRANSACTIONS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by Usamah Saraya: "Minister of Economy at Egyptian Banks Federation: Banks Commitment To Implement Credit and Foreign Currency Policies One of the Two Pillars of Economic Policy"]

[Text] Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, during his meeting with the monthly seminar organized by the Federation of Banks Operating in Egypt, under the chairmanship of federation president Muhammad Nabil Ibrahim, confirmed that "there will be no amendment to the current economic laws, including the currency law, and no change in the current exchange regulations or the regulations governing accounts. But we are presently studying ways to provide the proper climate for banks to abide by foreign currency regulations by creating a fixed system of exchange rates and import financing without money transfers, away from the black market."

First, Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of economy and foreign trade, reviewed government relations with the banking community. He explained that the banking sector is of special importance to the Egyptian economy as the strongest and most advanced sector, relatively speaking, because of its outstanding personalities and capabilities, as well as its deposit capabilities and credit capacity, and in view of its strength, influence and dynamism. The minister of economy added that it was clear that the banking community is in need of a great measure of "commitment" and implementation of economic policies in 2 main fields:

--"The first is the field of credit and the second is foreign currency exchange. Regarding the implementation of policies and the realization of the greatest measure of commitment within Egyptian banks, I found when I first took office as minister of economy in October, 1981, a number of decisions issued by the Central Bank laying down certain credit regulations in the fields of loans and deposits and commercial, family and personal credit ceilings, and in matters related to the rates of exchange and other interest rates. When we studied the situation of the banking apparatus, we found a vast difference between what is and what must be applied. In regard to credit and foreign currency exchange regulations, non-commitment was greater and more serious."

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, in his speech to the bankers, added that one of the basic lines of economic policy is to achieve commitment in these two principle fields that have a great influence on the banking community's role in serving the Egyptian economy. It was necessary to restore to the central bank its ability to oversee and deal with various other banks. One of the main reasons behind this measure of non-commitment was the reality of the central bank. This great degree of non-commitment on the part of the banks was due to the lack of central bank supervision and control, and that the main reason behind this non-commitment was competition between banks."

#### The Most Important Thing Is Not Accountability, But To Move On To Commitment Phase

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id added, "We are not trying to assign responsibility for past excesses because there were specific circumstances that led to that. We must give everyone the benefit of the doubt, but we must also think of moving from the non-commitment phase to commitment. It was clear to us that success in this domain could not be achieved overnight and that we must be flexible. We gave the bank a full respite to go beyond the past stage and into the new one. One and a half years later, we have succeeded in implementing the credit regulations laid down by the Central Bank, and the banking community has achieved great and commendable success in abiding by credit regulations, keeping in mind that this matter required the introduction of some changes in credit regulations based on the banks' wishes and approved by the Central Bank."

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id stated that "all banks committed themselves to the implementation of credit policies, and we achieved results we are very proud of, save for 3 or 4 banks out of 74 which did not attain full commitment. This does not bother us because a significant accomplishment has been realized."

#### We Must Realize Another Accomplishment in the Field of Foreign Currency Integration

The minister of economy said, "With regard to foreign currency exchange, we face a tough battle which is going on between us and the banking community.

"We must analyze and organize the exchange market situation in Egypt and the reasons that led the banking community to violate set standards. The important thing now is to concentrate on the present situation. The truth is that there is a great difference between the actual facts and what the Ministry of Economy would like to achieve." The minister of economy wondered whether it was a mistake in organization or a mistake by the ministry of banking community mistake.

"This question is open to debate. However, we say that organizations, decisions and banks are all responsible for this reality. What concerns us now is our need to achieve the greatest measure of commitment to the foreign currency exchange regulations. To achieve success in formulating these policies, we began working on all fronts and confirmed the Central Bank's authority and supervision, whereby it can obligate the banking community to follow the rules. The Central Bank used to impose its regulations through the use of ethical power, and the situation called for an amendment to the law to vest it with the power to adopt sound decisions in this field. A Central Bank bill was prepared and debated in the economic committee and will come before the People's Assembly for debate tomorrow. The law was sure to emphasize the Central Bank's independence, both from the standpoint of the Ministry of Economy or the banking community."

The minister of economy focused on the fact that "the economic policy will not waiver in its obligation to credit and foreign currency regulations because this is a main line in our policy which we will not abandon until this sector is able to direct its attention to development operations that are compatible with its role so that banks will not be forced to plunge into commercial credit and foreign currency."

"As for the government's vision of the banking sector, we have the highest respect and appreciation for it and all present personalities. We cannot find in Egyptian society better than the people who are running it and who have contributed significantly to public life. Although there are some violations, they are not very harmful, for such examples can be found in all sectors."

The minister of economy added: "The government is thinking of formulating a number of economic policies that will help the banks realize commitment in the field of foreign currency. We have not reached a decision yet and are still considering and studying all points of view. We have before us a number of alternatives which we are studying. Our objective is to get the banking community to deal with the currency market with full commitment and to enhance its ability to provide foreign currency to the private sector to import its needs without money transfers. If we succeed in this, we will have prepared the climate and the proper circumstances for the banks' commitment to organizational regulations of foreign currency exchange so as to establish a strong and respected central bank and a disciplined banking community able to direct its efforts toward accomplishing economic development objectives that are necessary in a developing country like Egypt."

#### Debates

After that, the president of the Egyptian Banks Federation, Nabil Ibrahim, initiated a series of debates. He announced that the federation will submit to competent authorities its views on credit and monetary policy tools, in particular the interest rate policy and allowable credit expansion limits.

## Foreign Currency Exchange A Difficult Problem

Samir al-Qasri, president of Alexandria Kuwait Bank, said: "With respect to the Central Bank law, it has always had flexible provisions that guarantee the bank's board of directors ability to exercise its jurisdiction over the bank. The only difficulty was that the law did not provide for fines, hence a number of banks profitted from their violations. This is the only gain realized by the bank's new law.

"As for foreign currency exchange, it is a difficult problem not easy to solve. I feel that any kind of regulation will allow and not completely root out career currency dealers. This means that the banks and a handful of dealers vie for the savings of Egyptians working abroad and higher rates will not drive currency dealers out of the market. If we do not put an end to currency demand, the bank's share of foreign currency will remain limited."

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id replied: The new law includes fines for bank violations of credit regulations. As for the currency market and its dealers, there are three alternatives that have been proposed:

--The present system.

--Financing imports without money transfers through the banks.

--Licensing currency dealers to practice their profession.

The minister of economy added, "Any of these 3 alternatives will not succeed without the tanking community's commitment. The currency business takes place between a currency broker, a bank and an importer. Breaking the chain at the bank level makes us move with complete peace of mind and they cannot convince me that a bank director cannot identify the currency dealer when we reach a decision by which banks must abide."

Fu'ad Sultan, president of Misr-Iran Bank, pointed out that the world has now resorted to variable exchange rates based on supply and demand. The market forces are the best forces for rationing usage. He demanded concentration on economic reform and not only monetary reform.

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id replied, "We are studying the bank's entry into the currency business and do not discount this alternative. We are studying, however, the regulation of exchange rates in accordance with factors related to the regulation of the economic rhythm.

"Exchange rate control has many dimensions, including the existing regulation, besides other factors. We are now studying the best regulation to reduce the damage. The government has faced inflation and the money supply average rise has dropped from 24 percent to 28 percent [as published]; commodity exports rose with the rise of agricultural and industrial exports, despite the lower prices of oil."

## No Amendment of Currency Law

The minister of economy ended his talk by saying that there will be no amendment of the currency law and current exchange regulations that govern accounts; it is not under consideration in any way. About investment companies regulations, attention is being directed towards managing their needs through natural channels and the current negativisms that are represented in:

--The constant tendency to vie for Egyptian remittances, and consequently, speculation in exchange rates heading upwards.

--Reparation of another negativism represented in the legitimate demand arising from import without money transfer but whose means of implementation is illegal.

--The third important thing is that the new system will achieve the reparation of negativisms generated by the banking community, for which we seek strength and respectability.

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## NEW WAFD, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD ALLIANCE VIEWED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3101, 16 Mar 84 pp 4-6

[Article by Makram Muhammad Ahmad: "Wrong Alliances!"]

[Text] "The old Wafd, to its final days, retained part of the great legacy of the 1919 revolution when its foremost slogan was 'Religion is for God and the Country is for Everyone,' a slogan that became part of the Egyptian personality in the modern state. Secularism, which Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din now denies to the New Wafd, did not mean, in the old Wafd heritage, heresy or an irreligions state. It simply meant the separation of religion and politics in consolidation of the nation's unity and identity."

Perhaps the most outstanding surprise of the election season, which is still waiting for the parties to announce their slate of candidates, is that sudden alliance between the New Wafd and the Muslim Brotherhood, and their intention to run for the upcoming elections on one slate!

The sudden alliance between the two parties is unsupported by their common history which tells the story of a long conflict and an open clash that has separated them, from the time the Brotherhood came into being in the early thirties up until the promulgation of the law dissolving political parties.

Brotherhood hostility towards the Wafd represented a fixed line in brotherhood ideology, surpassed only by their severe hostility to all leftist detachments, the Marxist groups in particular. When the brotherhood waged its famous campaigns against "partisanship in all its forms" in the forties, the Wafd was the target, and when Shaykh Hasan al-Banna used to ridicule "partisan leadership created by necessities and restrictions"--in his own words--in his frequent speeches, Mustafa al-Nahhas was the butt of his ridicule. Even when the brotherhood proceeded to form a kind of military militia that assumed, at first, the image of mobile groups, the Wafd suspected that it was the target. The brotherhood wanderers, who numbered 20,000 persons, became the weapon of the brotherhood in its clash with the Wafd wherever demonstrations from both sides met inside the universities or outside them on Egyptian city streets.



The Cairo University campus was an open battle-ground between Wafd supporters and brotherhood groups who did not hesitate to use knives and whips to establish their influence over the student movement by violent means. This long history of mutual hostility, which did not abate for a single day, peaked during the famous clash in the city of Port Sa'id when some brotherhood members used grenades and bullets for the first time against Wafd supporters in the city. This incident resulted in a number of killed and wounded, and that miserable day ended in an angry demonstration which set afire the brotherhood's headquarters.

Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's statement justifying his sudden alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood notwithstanding, the Wafd's dispute with the brotherhood has always been deep-rooted. It did not stop at their general points of view regarding the necessities and objectives of national action, but extended to all the details to such a degree that there was no room for a minimum agreement between them, not even on one single issue! Rather, their dispute extended to all their open and secret alliances, almost becoming a mathematical rule: wherever the Wafd was found, the brotherhood was there in a counter position or on the opposite side! Perhaps the intense hostility between the Wafd and the brotherhood explains to us the long alliance relationships between the brotherhood and the minority parties in Egypt.

--The disagreed on the issue of evacuation and national independence:

Whereas the Wafd believed that the evacuation issue should have been in the forefront of other issues, the brotherhood believed that the primary issue most worthy of attention was the matter of Islamic succession because Egypt's independence, in their view, was part of a more general and universal issue, that of bettering the situation of the Islamic world!

--They disagreed on the issue of national unity:

Whereas the old Wafd believed that loyalty was to the country and should be above all other affiliations, and that national identity should precede any other identity, the brotherhood believed that religious identity should come before all other identities and Islamic brotherhood was, by necessity, the national group's brotherhood.

And, whereas the Wafd believed that it was in the country's interest to break up any intermingling between religion and politics because politicizing religion or religiousizing politics, if you will, are two faces of the same position that can only lead to the fragmentation of national unity, the Muslim Brotherhood maintained its traditional position that Islam is both a religion and a state.

The Wafd was still retaining some of its great legacy of the 1919 revolution when its foremost slogan was "Religion is for God and the Nation is for Everyone," a slogan that became part of the Egyptian personality in the modern state.



Secularism, which Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din now denies to the New Wafd, did not mean, in the old Wafd heritage, heresy or an irreligious state. It simply meant the separation of religion and politics in consolidation of the nation's unity and identity and a rejection of theocratic rule that drew its legitimacy, presumptuously, from the individual's divine right rather than the community's democratic right and was based on a religious state run by religious leaders or mullas, as is the case in Iran today.

The Wafd and the brotherhood had yet another disagreement over the issue of violence and change.

Whereas the Wafd believed that the ideal way to effect the evacuation of occupation forces from Egypt was through the firm establishment of a strong internal national unity to back the "legitimate peaceful struggle" and to negotiate with the occupier about objectives unanimously approved by the whole nation, and whereas the Wafd always emphasized respect for existing legitimate frameworks and commitment to a political struggle from within them, the Muslim Brotherhood believed that their job in society was a holy war against the existing legitimate frameworks. Not only did they not reject, through their vague programs and their persistent disinclination to proclaim their identity as an overt political party or a purely religious group, violence as a means of change, but they actually incited and prepared themselves for violence through their "mobile militias," and the party's underground apparatus.

The Muslim Brotherhood, in the opinion of its founder, Hasan al-Banna, was neither a charitable organization nor a political party nor a body with objective purposes and definite intentions. It was a resounding voice and a raging storm. Historically, it has always been the coat from under which emerged all the violent political tendencies despite its public denial that it was a political party.

I do not wish to dwell on the nature of the radical disagreement between the Wafd and the Muslim Brotherhood. Any student of Egyptian history knows that it is a basic disagreement, and a strategic one at that, that precludes the establishment of an alliance such as this sudden one unless one side has bestowed its robe upon the other, and I do not think that the Muslim Brotherhood is the one that took off its robe. Perhaps some of its elders have attained a greater measure of wisdom, but its problem lay always in the fact that it has constantly extricated itself, as a movement and an organization, from the grip of its makers. This was the story of Shaykh Hasan al-Banna with 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi, chief of the underground apparatus, and the story of the al-Qutbiyin with Imam al-Hudaybi and, I think, still the story of the fundamentalist groups with Shaykh al-Talmasani.

What has changed, therefore, to bring about this alliance at the expense of what may be called the old Wafd's strategic line with its well-known liberal heritage, without which the New Wafd will be stripped of all historical rationalization, thus being rendered just another group carrying

the Wafd name and seeking to regain a lost weighty place on the map of current Egyptian reality but making wrong alliances, following the wrong path and confusing what may be a kind of tactic at the expense of the party's strategy and established intellectual heritage.

Five weeks ago, some old Wafdists denied one the right to say that the present day Wafd has nothing to do with the old Wafd heritage and that what we are seeing today is not the Sa'd Zaghlul Wafd nor the al-Nahhas Wafd nor the 'Aziz Fahmi Wafd. It is a Wafd of another kind that is not connected in any way with the blue jalabiyah and has no relationship to the spirit that gave the Wafd its old national and popular perception.

Now, there is a succession of explosions in higher Wafd circles caused by the strategic mistakes committed by Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din when he led the party into an unhealthy alliance.

When Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, in his reply to Ahmad Baha'-al-Din, says that his alliance with the brotherhood is in harmony with the current Egyptian constitution, which reaffirms the Shari'ah as the main source of law, his argument, clever though it may be, is a kind of theoretical deception [i.e., sophistry] that fails to conceal this alliance's perils to the Wafd primarily, particularly since the Wafd used to philosophize its role in the coming stage as an example of responsible opposition capable of facing the demands of national unity, and to encourage the forces of political liberalism with regard to the fundamentalist groups.

Dr Faraj Fudah, former New Wafd philosopher and political ideologue--I think he has quit the Wafd because of this sudden alliance with the brotherhood groups--said in his book, "The Wafd and the Future:" Perhaps the strongest organized political party on the Egyptian scene today is that one that represents the Islamic current with all its tendencies which may differ in style but can very well meet within one framework that includes the Muslim Brotherhood.

"We will be like the ostrich that buries its head in the sand if we fail to realize that these tendencies, their apparent multiplicity notwithstanding, represent one basic political tendency and embrace violence as a means of change instead of the means of cooperation and coexistence with democratic regimes.

"We will be like the ostrich that buries its head in the sand if we fail to realize that the brotherhood groups, who used to exist on the sympathy of some middle-class groups and small businessmen, particularly in the regions, are devising new, smarter and more suitable organizational tactics for the purpose of spreading intellectual terror and dragging Egyptian thought down to darkness with them. Many of the questions Egyptian thinkers used to raise in the twenties, not one thinker dares raise again now, preferring to remain silent!

"These groups, with all their diversity, play the same tune: violent change through one means only which is to draw all liberal tendencies in Egypt under the "national unity" slogan, not merely as a thought or a slogan, but as a great political legacy representing more a popular grouping than a political ideology.

"We believe," in Dr Fudah's words, "that the struggle will go on until the end of this century between the Wafd in terms of it being a grouping of all these liberal currents and between the fundamentalist religious political orientation."

This is what Dr Faraj Fudah wrote in his book, "The Wafd and the Future," which was being distributed not long ago with the party's knowledge as one of its important documents, but now the New Wafd is disavowing it and its author!

No matter how hard we examine the Wafd's and the brotherhood's legacies in search of what may justify this alliance, we only find the rightful strategic mistake committed by Dr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, perhaps because he had promised the Wafd a 40 percent quorum of the People's Assembly representation in the upcoming elections but later discovered that reliance on Wafdist elements, both old and new, will not enable him to keep his promise. So he sought out the brotherhood, who found in the Wafd an umbrella that permits them to pursue political action without declaring themselves a political party. But what after the upcoming elections? Who will leave the other first?

Perhaps what brought them together despite this stark difference is the spirit of vengeance against the 23 July [Revolution]. It is evident that nothing can bring these two groups together except their open hostility toward the July period. This means that the Wafd has not been and will not be able to get over Egypt's old wounds in the hope for a democratic march that directs its efforts to the future and does not look back.

Whatever the reasons may be, it is clear that Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din wanted to ride two horses at one time. He wanted to rebuilt his party and to realize for the party, that is still lacking its secondary ranks, a perceptible victory in the coming campaign.

The New Wafd discovered that it could not rely totally on the remnants of the old families. The social map in Egypt has changed in a way that tilted the old balance of power; this is beside the fact that these families' new generations do not see anything in the NDP philosophy or current scope that conflicts with their ideas.

The New Wafd also discovered that it was still lacking the real support of the liberal intellectual current which has always been its salt. With the exception of their traditional current in the bar association and a few university professors, the New Wafd is still unable to attract this current which it still lacks. How strange that most Wafd adherents are now authors who spent their life destroying the old Wafd and tearing apart its leader, Mustafa al-Nahas.

It is in the framework of such different circumstances the Wafd is under, and also due, perhaps, to insufficient time and the desire to realize a perceptible victory in the coming elections, that Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din made his sudden alliance with the brotherhood at the expense of the Wafd's ideology and organization which should have received first consideration because the issue is not the leader, but rather the future of the party.

I do not know whether Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din realized the effect of this alliance on the future of the Wafd, which many hoped would be the liberal party it once was.

I do not know if, after this alliance, the party is expecting support from liberal intellectuals.

I also do not know if it has asked itself what it means to become the Trojan Horse with respect to the Muslim Brotherhood, especially its later generations who still confer upon the "Jihad" [Holy War] a sense of violence which in no way can be a justification for the highest of goals in word or deed!

I do not know, finally, what the cornerstone of the New Wafd ideology will be, now that it has forfeited its enthusiasm and traditional commitment to the national unity slogan and necessities in Egyptian reality!

I do not wish to go into the internal conflicts that abound in higher Wafd circles now because it is the party's business and the business of those who followed it, hoping for the return of the old liberal Wafd.

But, I would like to say that it used to be said that the Wafd in opposition was always stronger than the Wafd in power, and if we examine what is going on inside the Wafd now, we can say that the Wafd, as a party in the process of establishment, was much stronger than the Wafd as an existing party. There is no reason for that except that Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din mixed tactics and strategy and set up an unsound alliance that consumed what was left of the old Wafd legacy.

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# INCOMPATIBILITY OF OUTMODED LAWS, NEW SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES REVIEWED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3097, 17 Feb 84 pp 26-28, 83

[Article by Raja' 'Abdallah: "Chaos among Laws in Egypt Has Resulted in Contradictions in Provisions and 'Turmoil' in the Judiciary!"]

[Text] What is the secret behind the accumulating piles of ancient and modern decrees and laws which are obstructing the progress of the judiciary, oppressing people who are working in the field of justice, and filling the arena of justice with conflicts and contradictions? AL-MUSAWWAR's tour about the halls of the judiciary has revealed the presence of a large body of outmoded laws which time has obliterated but which are still applicable in our current circumstances, and were codified as a result of circumstances and cases which no longer exist in our society. We are putting the "picture," with all the views and recommendations that have been stated about it, before the Ministry of Justice as it is celebrating the passage of 100 years since the establishment of the national judiciary, so that it will be able to eliminate these as it goes about amending the laws.

The judiciary and legal authorities in Egypt are presently celebrating the passage of 100 years since the establishment of the domestic Egyptian judiciary.

Now that 100 years have elapsed, how does the picture of justice in Egypt appear, and what vexations, concerns and problems exist on the judiciary stage today?

The picture seems crowded and confused today; laws and provisions contradict one another and have no beginning or end. The examples are so numerous that you cannot count them.

For example, the Egyptian penal code. This law still includes articles which were issued more than 100 years ago and still are in effect, even though circumstances have changed. The supreme order issued on 13 November 1883 concerning the commercial law is still also in effect, even though it is not in keeping with current circumstances.

Stranger than that, there is a collection of outmoded, silly decrees which time has rendered obsolete, but they still exist although they do not

represent anything in our society now. There is for example a decree prohibiting the collection of leftovers from plates and cigarette butts, the decree of the minister of the interior of 1893 regarding public scribes, the decree bearing on the engravers of rings and the edict governing lost things which was issued on 18 May 1898 regarding the discovery of lost objects or animals, whose discovery must be reported within 3 days if they have been lost in cities and 8 days if they have been lost in villages.

Another strange aspect is apparent in major new laws. This inspires amazement and wonderment, for these laws are issued from time to time and the judiciary does not apply them at all -- it is as if they had not been issued at all!

These include, for example:

The penalty is death for dealers of narcotics in the event narcotics are brought in from abroad, as stipulated in the law in 1966, but no sentence with this penalty has been issued yet!

The law on ill-gotten gains which is revived during the season of the presentation of declarations of financial obligations, then is once again immersed in a deep sleep.

The latest personal status law which some judges carry out and others refuse to put into effect, as if it is an optional, non-binding law!

The housing laws which are issued from time to time, and whose proliferation represents innumerable amendments and changes, which prompts the litigating public and the judges not to commit themselves to them, either because of ignorance of them, through a failure to keep up with them, or because of lack of belief in them!

For example, Law 136 for 1981, which requires that one not deed out more than two thirds of a building, to help solve the housing shortage, and Law 30 for 1983, which compels the owner to put up a sign stating the building permit number, the number of floors permitted and the units allocated to deeding and rental. We have not found a single building whose owner has committed himself to this law; rather, to the contrary, the sales announcements in the newspapers defy the legislators and buildings are sold one after the other, openly, without observing the stipulations of the law!

We also find the courts issuing provisions which it is not possible to execute. Disputes between employees and their departments usually end with the ruling that they are to return to work, and the managers refuse to carry out the rulings, as if they were rulings to return once again to court, so that the cases may increase, hundreds and thousands of them may pile up before the judges and their review may be delayed for years and years!

How many laws there are which do not find their way into daylight, and how many provisions there are which do not find their way to execution!



This is an abbreviated picture of the law in Egypt. What do specialists, in the form of university professors and members of the judiciary, say about this strange picture? What are the causes and results, and what are the solutions?

#### What Are the Reasons for the Violations?

We put this picture before Dr Fathi Surur, dean of the Faculty of Law at Cairo University, and he stated, in commenting on it:

"Yes, we have poor organization in legislation, in view of the imprecision in certain new legislative provisions, which inspires disruptions and differences in interpretation, and in view of the proliferation and diversity of legislation -- for instance, the legislation regulating housing and buildings. The proliferation and disruption here have made the people who address themselves to the legislation fail to understand it, and this has resulted in violations of it. In addition, excessive recourse to criminal legislation to resolve every crisis has resulted in a proliferation of criminal legislation and the unjustified invention of different kinds of crimes, to the point where the penal code has lost the awe in which people used to hold it. As a consequence, various ministries propose drafts of laws, through their legal departments, and these come from the ministries in an unfinished form or a form that is not carefully studied, due to the mediocre level of the people who recommended them from the legislative standpoint and because the ministry involved is dealing with the legislation from a specific angle, ignoring a number of other angles which other ministries besides the one involved can see. Therefore, the draft is presented to the Council of Ministers then the People's Assembly, expressing the limited, deficient view of a specific ministry, and therefore the law is issued with its poor formulation because of the mediocre level of the people who prepared it and because the members of the People's Assembly are themselves political members and not specialists.

"For example, let me concentrate specifically on legislation related to the treatment of the housing problem and the treatment of problems with buildings. This legislation looks at a single angle of the problem, that of building collapse and fraud in building materials. It looks at the problem of exploitation of tenants in the contracts reached with them and their obligation to pay key money, while it ignores other aspects of the subject which are economic and the solution of the housing problem through the encouragement of construction and the provision of housing. Had the legislators oriented themselves toward economic methods and social methods to solve this problem, and not resorted to the penal code, the remedy would have been more beneficial. It is for this reason that the world has drawn attention to the error of resorting to the penal code to solve problems, and indeed the United Nations itself in more than one recent conference has warned that problems of society which are dealt with by criminal legislation do not solve themselves and that the problem has come to involve all the sectors of the government. Housing itself, and I insist on this, involves aspects which are related to the economy, aspects which are related to housing and redevelopment, aspects which are related to education, and also aspects which are related to social affairs, because the existence of a housing shortage leads



to the frustration of young people's hopes, resulting in delays in marriage and the consequent harmful effects this has on men and women alike, then the fragmentation of the family because of the obligation to arrange housing with other families. The issue has various aspects, if it is resolved by being viewed from one angle that will lead to damage, and therefore if the legislation is issued by a national agency, in which all entities concerned are represented, that will issue integrated legislation.

#### Hurried Legislation

"On the other hand, the legislators must be shrewd and always alert to shortages and the development of social problems with the development of society, so that solutions will always be ready and accessible. Most unfortunately, our specialized research institutes are like machines which operate without functioning, because it is a duty of the research institutes always to examine social development and the accompanying advanced changing interests and offer solutions so that it will be possible to express these solutions through specific legislative rules. Therefore, there must be a legislative agency subsidiary to the executive authority at the national level which will grasp at all the research institutes' research and predictions so that it will always be prepared to issue carefully studied legislation which expresses various aspects. Then the legislation will be issued as a truthful expression of society, an expression which respects and does not violate."

#### Responsibility for Buildings That Collapse

I asked the professor and dean:

"There is a general opinion regarding the housing problem, concerning contractors who commit fraud in building materials and whose punishment is less than their crime, since they know that such fraud will lead to the collapse of the building and the loss of lives. What is your opinion?"

Dr Fathi Surur said,

"The current stipulations include provisions guaranteeing penalties if anyone dies because of neglect by the contractor or other persons, which amount to imprisonment for 10 years. It is possible to realize adequate deterrence by the existing penalties. However, we are like ostriches which put their heads in the sand, since the crime lies with the engineers from the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing and with all the members of the section and the competent departments who are negligent in oversight or rush to give permits and who do not monitor construction work. Had there been investigations by the people giving permits and followup and execution of the construction work, it would have been possible to stop all this. I do not want to talk about the bureaucracy and elements of aberrance which occur in these fields; the current laws contain all the measures and rules, but they are not observed, and when a catastrophe occurs as with the al-Zahra' Building or others, the penalty is intensified, then the catastrophe occurs, and we might find that acts of courtesy are involved or the regulating engineer has been bribed. How can we build such a skyscraper in a section of Cairo without anyone seeing it? The governor himself has the authority to make suspensions. Where have they been?"

## The Remedy after the Catastrophe!

"When the catastrophe occurs, the building code is amended and the penalties are enlarged, although the remedy ought to lie in deterrent measures, preventive administrative measures which will guarantee sound work.

"Also, in the case of people who violate the law prohibiting the deeding out of more than one-third of a unit of the real property, if the punishment were economic it would be more damaging, because the person violating the law is tempted by economic profit, and if he sells an apartment in the desire to obtain 10,000 pounds, for instance, and the penalty is a fine that comes to 50,000 pounds, he will hesitate more than once before committing this violation. If the penalty is imprisonment or something else, he will seek to commit fraud in the law in numerous ways so that he will be spared punishment, except for economic penalties, which can be imposed easily, because it is easier to establish a violation than a crime which has legal and technical foundations which one can evade because there is no criminal intent, for instance, or measures or the like.

"In addition, regarding all economic acts and violations, the whole world has become aware of the orientation toward financial and economic penalties, and we apply this to crimes of smuggling currency and tax and customs violations, the punishment for which is enormous fines. If a settlement occurs, the person pays double the profit he has made.

"In order to remedy problems such as that of housing, I recommend that all penalties be administrative and economic and that we stay away from criminal law."

## Laws That Are Not Carried out

[Question] What about laws that are not carried out, for example the law on ill-gotten gains?

[Answer] The problem is that laws are issued but guarantees that they will be applied are not provided. Consequently, we can issue laws only if we are prepared to apply them. As regards the "Where did you get that from" law, the fact of the matter is that this law was taken from a law which the French national government issued during the Nazi occupation of France. It had been observed that some French people had been cooperating with the occupation authorities in exchange for specific amounts of money, and therefore the national authorities issued this law in order to discover these dealings. It was then abrogated as soon as the Nazi occupation ended, and there is no law on unlawful gain anywhere in the whole world like the Egyptian one, since the rule regarding accused persons is innocence and no one can be assumed to be a criminal just because he has money whose source he must prove. Therefore, the issuance of that sort of law, and other laws, entails a violation of general provisions which make this law hard to apply.

The spirit of the "Where did you get that" law is applied by administrative oversight agencies which oversee citizens and their aberrant conduct and oversee sources of wealth, that is, generate the followup process; I should

not watch a public official for decades then be surprised to see him getting rich. It is necessary to work to strengthen the administrative oversight agency as an agency for following up and revealing aberrance more than an agency for cracking down on crimes. We already have agencies for cracking down on crimes. The Ministry of the Interior with all the different departments cannot encroach upon Administrative Surveillance, which must be an agency for disclosure and prevention more than a crackdown agency. It must oversee everyone who is appointed to an important position, observe his income and monitor developments in this income. It is possible that it will discover sources of enrichment and it is possible that a given employee will be removed and the aberrant conduct stopped. I do not expect that an employee should submit a declaration every 5 years, then be investigated in 10 years' time because we do not have enough agencies to conduct an investigation. Therefore, this law is in reality not applied.

#### Rulings Which Are Not Carried out

[Question] There are some rulings issued by the judiciary which do not end up being carried out, such as the return of terminated employees to their jobs, or the ruling of entitlement to compensation for owners of lands which the Agrarian Reform [Department] has taken over.

[Answer] I cannot imagine that rulings are issued and not carried out. Indeed, the government's veneration and respect depends on the extent to which it carries rulings out. If a man in power violates the law, he encourages people not to respect the law.

The law stipulates that public employees are to be prosecuted whatever their position might be if they do not carry rulings out and the citizens who are harmed by the failure to carry out judiciary rulings can file direct suit against the people in charge of the matter before the judiciary in accordance with Article 123 of the penal [code]. The constitution itself stipulates this, and considers failure to carry out judiciary rulings a crime.

[Question] And the solution?

[Answer] A legislative agency must be established, subordinate to the Ministry of Justice, in which two types of person are represented, men of the law and representatives of various ministries, in order to review some existing laws, to purge current legislation of disruptive and contradictory elements, eliminate many laws for which there is no room and work to consolidate some special scattered legislation which can be gathered into a single form of legislation rather than being scattered and spread about among the provisions of different laws.

#### A Glut of Legislation

The counsellor Dr Mustafa Kamil Kirah, former chairman of the court of cassation, who had a lengthy career in judiciary activity before reaching the peak of it, agrees with Dr Fathi Surur regarding some of his views and disagrees over others. He agrees with him over the chaos of legislation and

disagrees with him regarding the "where did you get that from" law. He considers that it should be expanded, not eliminated, and says:

"In Egypt there are numerous laws which deal with different branches of the law. While changes are not easily made in the major laws, such as the penal code and the civil code, the problem concerns peripheral laws, that is, supplementary or executive laws, which are dealt with by numerous amendments -- for example, the housing, building and tax justice laws. Perhaps this may be attributed to subsequent developments in Egyptian society, especially the economic liberalization, which has had an effect on the law as a result of the inflation of people's wealth and the rise in prices. However, that must not lead to changes in legislative policy of the sort which have occurred time and again. This leads to chaos because the judge must embrace the law which he applies and of course a proliferation of laws will result in the possibility of error in knowledge of the law that must be applied.

"I believe that we have many old laws for which there is no need, we now have a glut of legislation, and everyone who tries to master it is afflicted with problems in comprehending it."

[Question] In spite of the proliferation of legislation, there are laws which are not put in effect, such as the ill-gotten gains law or the death penalty in the case of smuggling in narcotics from abroad. Why?

[Answer] The law on unlawful gain deals with cases of employees who have limited incomes, and it is not reasonable that its application should be restricted to a narrow area. That makes the law limited in scope of application and therefore its scope must be expanded and its application extended to the private sector, to deal with massive sudden fortunes which have been amassed without effort, have created inflation and a disruption in social classes and have given a bad example as far as the futility of making an honorable living goes. Society in any country has the right to oversee this sort of conduct, whose source cannot be justified by its practitioners, but nonetheless we hear about the number of millionaires in Egypt. Some people say that they come to 3,000: have these millionaires paid what they owe, and have they have anything to show that they have performed their duty toward society?

#### Death Is a Cruel Penalty!

The death penalty is a cruel one in the minds of judges. Judges sometimes refrain from decreeing it if they can find a way to. I went through a period in which some counsellors were scared to decree it, although there were some counsellors in the history of the judiciary for whom the death penalty was an ordinary thing to decree. I do not see any cruelty in it; deterrent punishment is needed in order to reform the society. Among the well known counsellors were Majdi Pasha, whose fame preceded him in the criminal courts, Mahmud Pasha Mansur, and Mukhtar 'Abdallah; nonetheless, the death penalty is now the topic of discussion. Indeed some countries have eliminated it.

It has been noted that the death penalty truly has not been decreed in the case of anyone charged with narcotics so far. Perhaps that calls for a

resumption of the investigation of the viability of this suspended penalty and in fact the discussion of this notion was raised by the committee for the formulation of decrees of the modern policy conference, of which I was a chairman, along with an excellent elite of law professors. The notion of avoiding the death penalty as long as it was not applied was raised, but it was decided that it should be retained, in order to realize the significance the crime of smuggling symbolizes and the death penalty it deserves.

Perhaps there is a pressing need for the intensification of measures to prohibit the occurrence of narcotics smuggling crimes by using modern scientific methods for pursuing the crime to its roots, before it occurs, and allocating massive rewards to policemen. The police conference did adopt a recommendation on the use of helicopters as a modern means for cracking down on the crimes.

Why Doesn't the Government Carry Them out?

[Question] Why doesn't the government carry out rulings that are issued against it by officials and workers?

[Answer] Frankly, the government agencies must exert efforts to carry out the rulings, and there are procedures which exist in law for the failure to carry them out. However, that makes citizens go back to court and therefore the cases increase, along with the hardship that that imposes on the public and the judges.

I recommend that an office be established in every ministry to carry out rulings. There is a strong likelihood that supervisors are not aware of these verdicts, and there are many people in the government who have received prison sentences for the failure to carry out verdicts, among them for example Dr Hasan Hamdi and Dr Sufi Abu Talib.

As regards workers in the private sector, rulings on return to work can be converted into compensation to the worker for his position, out of concern for the freedom of individual activity.

Conciliation and the Elimination of Conflicts

[Question] The government fights thousands of cases that appear before the courts, and on most occasions it loses them.

[Answer] Yes, that is one of the causes for the obstruction of justice. The government must adopt the system of conciliation and the elimination of conflicts which go on for years, with the resulting costs and congestion of courts in the cases which have no end. Here conciliation is desirable, especially if there are judiciary verdicts or conflicts with independent legal principles in the court of cassation, such as conflicts between taxpayers and the Tax Department regarding general income taxes. These are principles that have been handed down by the court of cassation in past years and there is no need for similar remaining cases to be perpetuated until they reach the court of cassation. These conflicts have burdened down the central system and the litigants, have made justice costly, and have also slowed it down.



[Question] What is your opinion on the refusal by specific courts to put the new amendment to the personal status law into effect, specifically in the case of the article which stipulates the wife's right to a divorce if her husband marries another woman, on grounds that that marriage causes her harm?

[Answer] I am not inclined to say that judges are refusing to apply the law. The judge always has the authority to make evaluations as far as penalties are concerned, and he also has objective authority over evidence which enters into the nature of the judge's work from the civil standpoint; therefore the judiciary is characterized by flexibility in application. As far as the personal status goes, the principle in Islam is that there must be no damage and no infliction of damage. The scope for the evaluation of the damage lies within the judge's authority. If that means that a man's marrying a second time is a harmful matter for the first wife, I believe that that lies within the category of justice between wives. Polygamy is something that has been stipulated in Islam but it is restricted by the condition of equity and this condition reaches the point of prohibition in the Koran, which says "And you will not be able to realize equity among wives even if you are careful." This is a matter which anyone venturing on marriage for the second time must look into carefully.

#### Payment of a Fine Is More Viable

[Question] What is the solution with respect to laws and acts of legislation which it has been agreed are more harmful than beneficial?

[Answer] First of all, the avoidance of further efforts in the area of the determination of felonies, and recourse to economic penalties. Payment of fines is more viable for the government than imprisonment. The prisoner represents a cost to the government, and some criminals take pleasure in staying in prisons and benefit from smuggling in it, while payment of fines will have a greater impact.

Second, the laws should remain specific, clear and familiar to all. In order that no one will be subject to violating them and we will not all end up in the courts or be accused of crimes, it is necessary to correct all the legislation that exists, and eliminate everything for which there is no need and which is not in keeping with modern social development.

Third, this should be done through the formation of specialized committees for purging the laws which will be subsidiary to the Ministry of Justice and composed of two elements, members of the judiciary and men of the law of acknowledged competence and scholarship, provided that these groups be small and limited, so that they can perform the work that is assigned to them in the quickest time specified.

#### We Are a Narcotics Consuming Country

In the Anti-Narcotics Department, we had a meeting with Brig Gen Dr Fathi 'Id, professor of criminal law in the Law Faculty at al-Zaqaziq University and the Police Academy.

Concerning the causes of chaos in legislation, he said,

"There is no coordination among the three powers, the executive, legislative and judiciary powers, regarding the issuance of laws. These three powers must believe in the law that is issued. If the executive power is not won over to the draft, it will delay it and offer a justification for not carrying it out, for one reason or another. The same is the case if the judiciary authorities are not won over to the legislation that is issued; it will not apply it as it should, and this is where the disruption that we see in public life occurs.

"Sometimes a crisis occurs and public opinion demands that the penalty be intensified. The penalty may be intensified without thorough study, and the result is that when this sort of penalty is brought before the judiciary that tries to find reasons to reduce it or give verdicts of innocence, so the law is in reality suspended."

[Question] Why isn't the death penalty applied in the case of narcotics smuggling?

If it is not beneficial, why isn't it abrogated?

[Answer] We were one of the first countries in the world to issue a law on narcotics. That was by a supreme order issued on 29 March 1879, which prohibited the importing or cultivating of hashish. The penalty at that time was a fine of no more than 200 piasters. Therefore the world bears witness, on our behalf, that we were one of the first countries to combat these poisons. Then the penalty evolved until in 1977 it became death in the case of smuggling, producing or exporting narcotics, and death or hard labor for life in the case of illegal trafficking in narcotics or cases where people have been permitted to own narcotics but then dispose of them for a purpose for which they were not to be given out, pharmacists for example.

The reason for the intensification of the penalty is that we are a narcotics consuming country and therefore a market for narcotics smugglers, who are looking for substantial profit to pay for their risk, and the opportunity to escape punishment through a lenient narcotics law. However, if we set out a stringent law and strengthen the anti-narcotics agencies, the opportunity to escape will be reduced, because we are a country which is geographically located in the middle of the areas of narcotics production in the world and thus we are an area that attracts them. Therefore the penalty for narcotics smuggling has been intensified, because local production is adequate for only 5 percent of local consumption, and in addition its quality is bad.

Many Islamic countries have applied the death penalty, including Iraq, and carried out the penalty in the case of many people, including some Egyptians as well. Therefore they do not have a narcotics problem. That does not mean that narcotics have been totally eliminated, because crime originated with man and will end only when man ends, but they have been able to control the problem of narcotics. We have not applied the penalty once so far, and I do not know why, although we have one case which involves 8 tons of narcotics and another involving bribery for narcotics and the offer of a million



pounds to an officer just this year. I will not talk about such cases because they are still before the judiciary, but the penalty for a massive heroin case with members of a Mafia gang was hard labor for life only, although they are foreigners and are more dangerous than Egyptians because if a foreigner gives up narcotics once he will go back to them again.

It will be necessary to carry out the death penalty if we want to eliminate narcotics. I cannot rule on the failure of a penalty before it is applied. Prisoners say that perhaps the penalty was abolished on the basis of common law, although the judiciary's aversion to applying the death penalty does not abolish it, and people who will apply it could appear.

Narcotics are increasing, and the most dangerous point is that heroin has started coming into Egypt. That is the most lethal narcotic; it is the destructive beast in the countries of Europe and America, and it came into Egypt last year. Taking it once leads to addiction, and the reason it has come back is that there are people who have become rich from the liberalization in the form of professionals and performers whose wages have reached astronomical figures. A large portion of the massive income, most unfortunately, in some cases, is spent on purchasing heroin in the case of everyone who obtains a massive income for little effort. If the penalty is reduced or abolished, the judge will reduce the penalty from hard labor for life to temporary hard labor, then 15 years.

At this point Egypt will become a very tempting place as a market for narcotics.

Finally, this is the conclusion of our tour of the world of the law in Egypt. It is a picture which men of the law, the judiciary and the police have sketched out clearly. We are presenting it to the Ministry of Justice so that as it celebrates the passage of 100 years since the emergence of the national judiciary it may guide its judiciary and its litigants in a tangible way, by means of a committee to reformulate the laws, as everyone demands, in order to protect justice in Egypt and everyone who demands and needs it.

**The Legislative Authority Asserts: Changes in Social Circumstances Are behind the Amendments in Legislation**

AL-MUSAWWAR conveyed the views of experts of jurisprudence and members of the law to the legislative authority, as represented by Mr Hasan Hafiz, member of the People's Assembly and the Legislative Committee in the assembly, and inquired about all the opposition and the opinions which were raised in the course of our tour of the law.

Hasan Hafiz's comments were restricted to the point that no one denies that there might have been some legislative incompetence in the preparation of the laws, but that incompetence is not general in character; rather, it is to be found in a few laws or acts of legislation, same as all the legislation prior to this stage; although the system of the two assemblies (the senate and the [chamber of] deputies) produced legislation with greater study, most countries tended to adopt the system of a single elected assembly

to save time and facilitate the passage of legislation. We must not forget that the July 1952 revolution occurred and without a dispute the offspring of constitutional legitimacy was the revolutionary legislation which was in keeping with the people's resurgence, such as the housing laws and the relationship which arose between landlord and tenant in the context of the circumstances which this stage passed through, which caused the private sector to abstain from building and construction. In addition, developments occurred in the society which created new laws and, in new laws which are being applied for the first time in new circumstance which society has not been familiar with, there will inevitably be effects which will require that there be amendments or cosmetic operations, or that one go through the process of establishing compatibility with the circumstances of the society which had not been the object of study or criminal charges in the past.

[He stated] "We would like not to ignore one point, which is that the fact that at least 50 percent of parliament consists of workers and peasants can be credited more to the preservation of some gains by the people than legislation issued to guarantee that the balance we are all aiming at in all requirements of life and society, between rights and obligations, will be preserved.

"Perhaps this is related to the subject Dr 'Ali Rashid raised a year ago when he demanded the formation of a higher legislative council which would oversee the issuance of legislation and formulate it in a sound manner, to which I returned since this recommendation was taken from the French constitution, which has drawn up the constitutional assembly, which has the right to protest any legislation in a period of 10 days -- opposition which no judiciary power or authority can oppose; this assembly, in reality, is an appointed one made up of 10 members headed by the president, three of whom are selected under his jurisdiction while the chairman of the National Assembly chooses three and the chairman of the Senate chooses three, to which the former presidents belong for life. That is, the legislation here would be subject to a specific assembly and parliament would not have any power to issue legislation except a minor joint one. If that sort of system is applied in Egypt, the parliament, to which the constitution has assigned the legislative authority, will become mere ink on paper.

"Parliaments are not jurists but political assemblies, and there is a higher constitutional court which by virtue of the constitution has the right to rule on the constitutionality of laws.

"Before a law is issued it is reviewed by the Department of Legislation in the Ministry of Justice and the Council of State, each within its own area of specialization, as are agreements, which the People's Assembly can only accept or reject, and in which no amendments are made by the assembly. Let us not forget that legislation in Egypt is not undertaken by the legislative power alone, but that the executive power participates with it in this, and the president, in his capacity as the head of the executive power, can oppose any law within a period of 30 days.

"All these steps contain an adequate guarantee, I believe, that laws will emerge in sound legislative form."

[Question] Then why are all these amendments made to a single law, such as the housing or tax laws, in a short period of time?

[Answer] The circumstances of society change and continue in the context of the society which arose after the revolution: the population increase, the international changes, the change in prices, and the emergence of Arab oil in the Middle East all changed the condition of Egyptians. Therefore, it was necessary that the legislation constantly keep abreast of these rapid circumstances, so that the society could become stabilized and calm down, and the legislation would start to become stabilized, as is the case in countries with deep-rooted traditions of democracy and legislation. In France, for example, election by lists was applied a number of times, from the beginning of World War One, then it was relinquished in the recent general elections. In Britain, also, the Labor Party is demanding that the election law be changed so that it will be by lists. In Belgium, a number of laws have been issued since the beginning of the 20th century to punish people who stay away from elections, beginning with fines and ending with ineligibility for government positions. By these examples I mean that many countries before us have gone through this stage of changing legislation.

Regarding the statement made to the effect that parliaments consist of politicians and not jurists, that is because they are essentially political assemblies. However, they have a legislative committee which includes specialists in legislation, and no assembly has had fewer than 70 lawyers among its members, that is, one-fifth the total representation of members, who are former ministers of justice, counsellors, or lawyers. This is a sufficient number because the legislative subjects are not, as some people believe, of the sort that can be studied only under the rotunda [of parliament]. Rather, the constitution stipulates that every draft law that comes from the government will be studied by the competent ministry, the Ministry of Justice, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, and after that will be sent to the legislative committee, then presented to the assembly in its final form.

A draft law issued by a member is not handed directly over to the Legislative Committee, but is handed over to the Committee on Recommendations and Complaints, which sets out a report on each recommendation. It is then submitted to the assembly and finally to the Legislative Committee. In the course of its discussion in the Committee on Recommendations or the Committee on Legislation, the responsible minister or someone taking his place appears on behalf of the government. If the assembly agrees and the executive authority or the government represented by the president is not won over, it has the right to send the law back in the course of 30 days. In the event parliament insists on issuing the law, it is then necessary to obtain the agreement of two thirds of the members of the assembly, which is a large percentage since the government is the government of the majority. Therefore the law involves a longer stage, and greater restrictions, than a draft presented by the government.

As for the amendments which appear after all that, these truly represent something noteworthy, and they conform to reality; there is no exaggeration about that. However, as I said, that can be attributed to the changing cir-

cumstances of the society, because the law is the mirror of the society, and public opinion sometimes applies pressure and the opinion of the representatives arises from the pressure of public opinion.

For example, there are the laws bearing on the removal of topsoil from land. However, as long as there are no adequate substitutes for red clay, the intent to fail to apply the law will continue in various forms. The same is the case with building on farmland, which will continue, in violation of the law covering it, as long as the built-up area is not specified and as long as the housing problem remains.

A committee was formed of the ministers of justice, housing, agriculture and local government which in the end demanded that the public prosecutor suspend and reduce some cases and penalties on these violations.

Thus when some of these social problems are faced, legislation arises from them, under the pressure of public opinion, which I represent as a deputy, other amendments are issued to this legislation, and so forth. Here we must not forget that the deputy is a public official before his district and his constituents concerning everything that represents their interests as citizens!

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DISSIDENTS, CRITICS QUESTION MOTIVES FOR PLETHORA OF LEGISLATION

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 14 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Misbah Qutb: "The Flood of Legislation and Tailormade Laws!"]

[Text] Frankness is sweet, and therefore the law is frank so that people may enjoy the sweetness of justice.

Since the law has had a very firm connection with crusts of bread, plates of beans, meters of common cloth and the four walls [of the home], it is supposed to be thoroughly thought out and clear.

However, if explainers, interpreters, astrologers and readers of seashells fail to explain a law such as the notorious Law 83 or the law on elections by lists -- the latter, absolutely -- then an imbalance exists.

Since the moon is not hidden, the inequity of the emergency laws which state what al-Sadat did not state about the Egyptian left is not either. However, we will present them in the context of the legislative coma in Egypt in general.

Are the legislators deficient, or is it that the people have rebelled against the legislation? When did the buds of this legislative vine first appear, and how is the constitutional court conducting its oversight? Why is the government rejecting all the laws the opposition presents, whatever they may be? Has it become necessary for us to stipulate a minimum legislative education for deputies? Or does the spirit of collective hasty agreement to laws have other causes?

How Do We Enact Legislation?

As the constitution stipulates, the People's Assembly has jurisdiction over the legislative function. From this body one or more member presents the draft of a recommended law to the Committee on Recommendations, from that it goes to the Committee on Legislative and Constitutional Affairs, and then it is presented to the assembly, section by section, to be voted upon. Sometimes the government presents its laws to the assembly for a direct vote after they are studied in the ministerial legislation committee, or it



signals one or members to present the recommended draft of a law which will realize specific desires for the administration. The important thing is that after the assembly gives agreement to the law it is presented to the president for approval and publication so that it may go into effect or the president may send it back to the assembly again and so that the review, return and so forth which are stipulated in the constitution will be applied to it.

In the seventies, we were given the added burden of bringing laws to the Federal National Assembly. Alongside that, there was the president's right to issue decrees which have the force of law, and there are the decrees of the prime minister, the ministers and the governors and the various bills to translate the law into actual practice.

#### Two Unique Finds

The strangest law to be issued by the People's Assembly is indeed the law which does not allow a deputy who has been removed from the assembly to run for election again in the same legislative session; the law failed to say "provided that the name of the deputy is Kamal-al-Din Husayn;" the reader will without a doubt recognize the background of this law.

Lest the president return a law, so that it will thereby become a precedent which has not occurred in parliamentary life since the revolution, President Mubarak previously warned the assembly, in reviewing the building law, "If the law turns out not to be decisive, I will return it to the assembly."

#### The Upright Family

The date: 8 February 1978.

During the discussion of the joint committee of the plan and budget committee report on the draft law on the realization of tax equity, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din was subjected to interruptions from the chairman of the assembly 12 times, and going by what Khalid said at that session we can discover other reasons for the deterioration in the legislature. In his discussion he stated, "We consider that the Egyptian tax law really needs review. Therefore, I recommend that the government form a committee to study the tax statute as a whole, provided that the committee include government and party experts, present the results of its study within 2 years and present the conclusions to public opinion for discussion prior to submission to the People's Assembly." The train of government legislation continued on its way, unconcerned with opinions, then after that changes occurred in the law a number of times.

In a rapid comment concerning the deluge of legislation and laws ratified in Egypt, the National Grouping Party secretary general said, "The government no sooner was faced with a shortage in reserves of blood in the hospitals than we heard about the draft of a law presented by the Health Committee making blood donations compulsory, violating the constitution, the law, humanity and the meaning of the word 'donation' itself. What government is it that abandons the roads to proper solutions by resorting to the law for

everything, large and small, after which its conscience is at rest, even if matters get worse?"

In politics, as in peripheral matters, rather than fighting argument with argument and confrontation with perspicacious, valid opinions, the government, with its majority, starts to issue legislation which confines opinions to its opponents. All of these laws are well known, and how much has been said about them!

#### Exchanges and Agreements

Fikri al-Jazzar, member of the People's Assembly, says:

"Examples of excessive activity in weaving legislation here make a person both laugh and cry. For example:

"We changed Employees' Law 210 111 times, then abrogated it.

"We formed a higher committee to interpret Settlements Law 64 (so what would one say about the ordinary citizen), and it was amended 26 times.

"Amendments were imposed on Government Employees Law 85 until out of it they devised the riddle of Law 83, and from the latter emerged Law 11, offering a partial, one-time remedy of the effects of Law 83. Nonetheless, this amendment was amended 21 times." As Fikri al-Jazzar says, "Was it intended that the employee and worker should be driven dizzy, between the new raises and the raises that have been abrogated, in an unending vertigo? Why shouldn't laws of this sort be as clear as the tax schedule? The question therefore is not the ignorance of legislators, as some people believe, but the philosophy of the Britisher Cromer, 'Don't let the Egyptians get satisfied; they will revolt.'"

#### Legislative Rainclouds

We will, in the manner of weather forecasts, present the reader with a picture of the patterns of legislative winds over various months.

In January 1980, the parliament issued 63 laws, most important of which was Law 33 for 1977 decreeing certain customs exemptions, which was amended afterward, and ratified three international agreements for loans and grants.

In May 1980, the assembly issued 17 laws, the most famous of which was an overnight law, known as the Ethics Law, consisting of 65 articles, and Law 105 establishing the state security courts. On top of that, the assembly ratified four republican decrees on international agreements for loans and grants.

Prior to that, in February 1980, there was Law 66 for 1980, abrogating Law 506 for 1955 boycotting Israel. The astonishing aspect of the matter is that before his visit to Israel in November 1977, al-Sadat issued Law 30 for 1976 establishing a regional office for the boycott of Israel.



In 1980 the parliament issued nine laws and ratified eight agreements. Among the most important of the laws was Law 120 for 1980 regarding the elimination of the Socialist Union and the invention of the Consultative Assembly and the law on the authority of the press. However, it is well known that the basic goal of the People's Assembly's agreement to the constitutional amendment on which the people gave a referendum, in the familiar manner, on 22 May 1980 was to amend the "lesser oath of loyalty" and the "greater oath of loyalty" in a manner that would give al-Sadat a third presidential term. But how leisurely fate is!

#### Other Clouds

After the revolution, because of the many social transformations, the laws proliferated. For example:

In August 1954, 40 laws were issued.

In September 1954, 55 laws were issued, most important of which was Law 480 establishing the office of the administrative prosecutor. The first parliament after the revolution was established in 1957, after the issuance of the 1956 temporary constitution, then came the July socialist laws, the legislative outpouring increased once again, and in this period laws by republican decree proliferated.

In September 1963, for example, 41 such laws were issued, most important of which was the one bearing on the modification of the Council of State. Then the number of laws dropped off again; in the months of January and February 1967 a single law was issued each month by the National Assembly, and no laws were issued in March.

As soon as the government declared the slogan of liberalization, the authorities made a complete turnaround about the revolution, until finally the flood of legislation resumed again.

In May 1975, 22 laws were issued and the assembly approved four agreements. There came the crisis of the peace agreements with Israel, and legislation assumed the guise of the suppression of all opposition views. The latest generation of laws was ill-starred in its origins. The quota of bad laws in the period following the event of the podium was four -- the extension of the emergency law, the law on the legal profession, the Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal law and the Yusuf Idris law.

#### Biting the Fingers of Regret

What, however, is the situation when the constitutional court rules that a given law is unconstitutional?

Dr Ibrahim 'Awarah, formerly an independent and now a Wafdist, replies:

"Two contradictory feelings grip a conscientious deputy. The first is joy at the discovery of the righteousness and probity of the Egyptian judiciary, and the second is sorrow over the parliament in which we take part, the

defendant whose probity and ability to enact legislature are being contested. Perhaps the insistence of the government majority on trying to thwart the constitutional court ruling regarding the restoration of the elected Lawyers' Union council is the clearest example of the narrowness of vision and the setback of a painful strong shock for the government assembly.

"The strange thing is that the government issued the law establishing the court, as if it was making common cause with the constitutional court, which we of course consider above it, and included, in the first article of the law, the constitutional court's right to interpret laws and bills, which is the area of competence of the court of cassation alone." Dr 'Awarah says, "We opposed that, to no avail."

Fikri al-Jazzar says,

"If it is permissible for a person still to have a modicum of feeling after a constitutional court ruling on the unconstitutionality of a given law, I consider that that is the ugliest thing that has befallen a parliament, with its hundreds of members and those who elected it, its members, its discussions, and its theoreticians. In my estimation, it is necessary to stipulate in the constitution that the crime of violating it is the ugliest of crimes and that if it is committed even by parliament that should be dissolved, so that the assembly will think a million times before issuing any legislation."

#### The Deficient Symphony of Decadence

Concerning the deluge of legislation, Ibrahim 'Awarah says,

"It is indeed a deluge. By God, laws are issued hastily, people become repentant with the passage of time, and judges stumble over this legislative chaos. The law on the regulation of buildings, for example, contained the imposition of a fine of from 10,000 to 50,000 pounds on buildings without permits, treating people building a room or a skyscraper equally in this regard. The lamentation of the people rose up in the courts, and the big people, as is their custom, found ways to wriggle out from under the penalty. Then the law was amended a few days afterward."

Dr 'Awarah wonders, if the circumstances in which laws are changed in Egypt are amorphous and obscure, why should there be change? And why now? Does that reflect a certain echo going about in the street? Has the matter been discussed by the people involved in politics and public opinion? No, a thousand times no. Is it grounds to enact legislation that President al-Sadat should say the word 'that's improper' some day, and we should be surprised to find people presenting the draft of the Ethics Law the next day? That is one of the reasons for the deterioration in legislation. The second is the democracy of 'such and such' which possesses a free facade but a heart that is weighted down by interests and loyalty to the administrative authority. The third reason for the imbalance in legislation in Egypt is the objective equivalent of the political imbalance, fraud in the elections, and the investment of authority with sanctity. The fourth reason is that the people who have the power to stand up to fruitless legislation sometimes betray their consciences!"

## The Commission Law!

Fikri al-Jazzar reveals a serious feature of the issue of legislative deluge. [He says] "The constitution, the father of the laws, has suffered greatly from the proliferation of amendments, and it has not been innocent of the defect of showing partiality to people in power and authority. Unfortunately the 1923 constitution was wiser and more democratic than that of 1971. The former restricted the king to a large degree, while in the era of the latter constitution we have seen a ruler bestowing a special law on his wife; shall we wonder after that about this legislative deluge, where the ruler deals with fine points with a narrow perspective which often changes and with which the flaws in the laws become apparent, so that they are amended? I challenge any judge in Egypt to be informed of all the legislation that is issued here."

Fikri al-Jazzar says, "There also is what could be called 'legislative drought.' As regards rental relations and education, for example, the government has stood trembling and fearful between its desire for change and its failure to create it. Perhaps it has postponed this procedure until after the coming elections."

## Stability Is of Two Kinds

As Fikri al-Jazzar says, "Stability in the layers of the upper atmosphere in power is guaranteed by the arsenal of laws of ill repute, and this explains the insistence on not changing them, even though their bad nature, even as theoretical legislation, is known. The second type is the stability in the lower layers. You have only to count these laws in the area of 'the fox went, and it went, after a crumb of bread', to confirm their evil nature, not to speak of the restriction other laws impose on them."

As soon as I started to ask him about the laws he had submitted to the assembly, he anticipated my question:

"Indeed, the least we should demand is that they be abrogated. We are not in need of new legislation so much as in need of the elimination of this tremendous amount of hasty laws." I told him, "Legislators abroad always add new things to man's freedom, such as the legalization of the taking of narcotics in America, while here the legislators are oriented toward further restrictions -- the law prohibiting the publication of government documents and the law of confiscation for people who reprint foreign materials of which the authorities do not approve."

Fikri al-Jazzar, who is famous for voting abstentions, said,

"Because I as a deputy lack freedom vis-a-vis the ordinary citizen, the opposition in the present assembly is like a political slave to the majority, if we speak we are cut off, the electricity is cut off, the media pay no attention, and the board of the People's Assembly office has total freedom to repress the freedom of the deputy, so how can we produce legislation which supports freedom in this intellectual guillotine? They are thinking about abrogating Article 307 of the bill which permits people who abstain

from voting to make comments, so that the deputy loses the last thing he has."

Laws from Above!

Dr Mahir Zahir, member of the Society of Political Economy and Legislation, interprets the speed of legislative output by the rapid shifts in Egypt, from capitalism to socialism to capitalism again, at the top, without participation by the base of the people and without attention from legislators, through observation of the course of social transformation and human wants.

Can we stipulate that a deputy should have a minimum legal education?

He replied, "That will eliminate the notion of votes and free choice, but it is a necessity for anyone assuming membership, though there should be no compulsion. Fikri al-Jazzar considered, sorrowfully, that 50 percent of the workers and peasants, the people with the real interests, are the people who have agreed the most, whether through awareness or ignorance, to legislation that is opposed to their constituents."

Dr Mahir added, "Nonetheless, one cannot say that we do not have capable legislators. The law on taxes issued in 1939 still is the basis, and the amendments that have been introduced into it are trivial. However, the chaos which is apparent now is a temporary matter. Real democracy will guarantee that it is eliminated."

What Are Your Credentials?

We often hear that as Dr Mustafa Khalil said lately, the opposition is not qualified to govern, since it appears that it is just the proteges of the government who have earned the credentials for governing. Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri surprised the People's Assembly with the recommendations he presented on amendments to the employees' draft directly after giving the constitutional oath on 14 January, in which he specified means for calculating employees' credentials and the means for realizing just settlements and real employment reform, but they remained indifferent, as usual.

After that, Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri presented the People's Assembly with the amendment of the law on elections, on whose unfairness and amorphousness and indeed on whose unconstitutionality, no two Egyptians will disagree, and the recommendation was rejected.

During the discussion of the law establishing the National War Production Authority, Abu-al-'Izz demanded that the assembly have the right of oversight over military affairs, since there is no secrecy in the world concerning rates of arms procurement, except with respect to military plans. He also criticized the powers which the law gives the board of directors at the expense of the job. The law also was phrased the way the National Party wanted, as were the others.

One of the strange aspects of the assembly, which is perhaps another explanation for the degenerated state of legislation, is that the deputy Jabril

Muhammad, of the National Party, attacked Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri for his demand that public service bonuses be increased, for no reason except that he was Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri!

Meanwhile, many sectors of public opinion rejected the draft law imposing traffic tolls on expressways. Al-Hariri relayed to the assembly the man on the street's view of rejection regarding this law, which would double the burden on people working with trucks so that their owners would be compelled to raise rates, and the government, as is always its habit, rejected the rejection, since it was expressive of the people. The government always comes before the people.

The People's Assembly's agreement to the agreements conveyed to it by the president is a form of legislation, since it sets specific binding limits regarding the agreements. During the vote on the agreement on sanitary drainage in Alexandria, al-Hariri abstained from voting for a simple reason, which was that the agreement stipulated the discharge of sewer water into the sea, which would cause pollution. The minister of housing admitted this but Dr Laylah rose up in arms and refused to have the statements made set down in the minutes.

The strangest thing Abu-al-'Izz presented was a question to the minister of investment, regarding statements published in his words, to the effect that the rate of development in Egypt in the seventies did not exceed 1 percent. He has not received a reply to that. He also presented another request for information to the minister of local government concerning violations attributed to the governor of al-Isma'iliyah, and we are still waiting for an answer.

#### The Central Power of Expulsion

While Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri is new to this session of the assembly, the Labor Party has presented more than 9 proposed laws to the assembly, and they have been rejected, without a review of the services to the masses and the nation which the proposed laws would lead to, because the government "doesn't like opposition."

Ibrahim Shukri, in January 1984, presented a recommendation that the law on the exercise of political rights be amended. In 1980 he presented the recommendation of a law on the establishment and ownership of the press, and he presented a recommendation on the amendment of Law 120 for 1980 and the rejection of absolute lists, a recommendation on the amendment of the local government law, another one regarding support for the integrity of the government and the closing of loopholes for aberrance (although the government likes integrity, it rejected the law on integrity!), a recommendation on the abrogation of the emergency laws, and in December 1982 a recommendation on a law on the legal profession. That was all rejected with no statement of the reasons, and indeed the person who presented them was not spared calumny. The strange thing is that on 5 December 1952 Ibrahim Shukri presented a request for information to the minister of information regarding damage to the spirit of democracy, on which the media had worked diligently, and its neglect of the opposition; in particular, he commented on Dr Fu'ad



Muhyi-al-Din's response to his request for information. All the media quoted the prime minister's response and all comments by supporters, while ignoring the comment of the person presenting the request for information. However, the minister's reply took a vague form.

One notorious law in the People's Assembly is that which has been presented by the member Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azzazi since 1964, a recommendation on the establishment of New Cairo. The assembly dealt with it in 1982, 1983 and 1984, the Legislative Committee agreed to it, discussions and hearing sessions took place concerning it, and it was stalled!

#### The Committee To Reject Laws

Mumtaz Nassar presented the following drafts, which of course were rejected:

A recommendation of a draft law to restore the higher council of the judiciary, without participation by the executive agencies, in order that integrity and independence could be maintained. (The government is now thinking about this recommendation, out of necessity, in light of the elections.)

A recommendation of a draft law amending the law on the judiciary power. Its most important element is the provision that the office of the public prosecutor possess the immunities stipulated for the members of the judiciary.

Mumtaz Nassar also has laws which were rejected "for no reason," the recommendation on the amendment to the law on the Council of State, the recommendation on restricting the government's obligation to the military judiciary to 1.28 billion pounds, a third eliminating benefits in kind for the families of 'Abd-al-Nasir and al-Sadat, saving the government 280 million pounds, and a final recommendation eliminating the law on parties.

Mumtaz Nassar sums up the reasons for the rejection in the point that all the members of the assembly office are in the National Party, in addition to the party's traditional majority, whose pride will not allow it to issue a law submitted by a member of the opposition.

Do you suppose we would have come up with this bewildering flood of legislation had the government, with its majority, responded to the laws the members of the opposition presented? If that had been the case we would have no bad laws, or indeed reviewing stand, with its sorrowful incident.

#### Before and after the Law

Dr Mustafa 'Afifi, professor of constitutional law at Tanta University, says:

"Of course the more laws there are the more loopholes there are, and concurrently the more mistakes there are. The law is supposed to be set out in order to codify a state of affairs whose concomitant elements have taken concrete form in economic and social life. The law on people working abroad, for example, came about as a result of the tremendous numbers of Egyptians who had emigrated to work, but a law such as that should not come about by

chance, even on the pretext of fending off an expected action which might just be in the legislator's imagination."

Concerning the constitutional court, Dr Mustafa said, "We are all prone to make mistakes, and there is no harm in going back occasionally to the constitutional court, but I wonder:

"Since we usually emulate French law, why don't we put higher constitutional court surveillance before the issuance of the law, as is the case there, so that there will be no grounds for contestation?

"Shall we adopt the notion of the stipulation in the law on the establishment of the constitutional court, to wit that it is necessary that there be a legal body which can be consulted for a ruling regarding the constitutional amendment itself, so that the constitution may be as free of defects as possible?" Dr Mustafa 'Afifi said, "People in Egypt do not participate directly in surveillance of the constitution, and if some law turns out to be in violation of the constitution, it is necessary that it be applied first of all and then that the damaged party file suit for a peripheral defense on the subject before the judge, who will examine the feasibility of the defense as to constitutionality or unconstitutionality. The odd thing is that the effect on unconstitutionality here is relative, in the sense that it does not abrogate a law but just suspends it for a while. I hope that we will adopt the measures that exist in Switzerland and West Germany, for example, on the citizen's right directly to file an original suit on unconstitutionality."

#### The Spirit of Wholesale Agreement

Regarding the requirement that the deputy have a minimum legal education, Dr Mustafa says:

"We, for example, have stipulated that the member be proficient in reading and writing, while we have not stipulated that he have finished primary school or anything else. Therefore, we cannot make acquisition of an education mandatory in the law that covers him. However, when a democratic climate prevails and the citizens are liberated from the oppression of eking out a living, they will certainly choose proper, sophisticated deputies. On the other hand the Legislative Committee and its assembly members, who are among the pick of the men of the law, must present the drafts of laws in a manner that is in keeping with the members' education, so that they will vote on something whose consequences they understand and are aware of." Dr Mustafa says, "Do not mourn these wholesale agreements to laws. What is known as an assembly's wholesale agreement prevailed at one point in the Chamber of Deputies in France, and perhaps we may make our choice in the coming elections."

As examples of improper laws, Dr Mustafa says:

"In addition to the well-known exceptional laws, there is for example the law on the press authority. There is legal consensus that it is an anomaly. Authority requires that certain measures and means of execution be taken to bind people to it, but what condition of that kind exists in the press?



"Finally, the result of the disruption of the balance of rights and freedoms was the incident at the reviewing-stand. We must therefore take careful consideration of the environment of the law, the nature of society and the preliminary conditions that lead to the creation of a given law, and we must raise public opinion so that it will clearly express the legislative situation that is best for us, through its opinions or through its referenda."

#### Fear to the Quick

Mr Fathi Radwan, the great lawyer, agrees that the stipulation on the citizen's right to file suit directly on the unconstitutionality of a given law before the constitutional court is important.

Concerning the deluge of legislation, he says,

"We must draw attention to a very important thing, which is that there generally is a plethora of legislation regarding laws governing political activity in general. As regards the various flaws in formulation and legal loopholes, the reasons for those are clear from the other laws. Among these reasons are:

"The fact that a government that bases itself on an unsound constitutional situation, in the light of exceptional laws, handles everything through legislation, while it has been proved that the law by itself is not enough. It is more appropriate first of all to deal with social and economic causes and administrative deficiencies in the agencies of government. If it then appears that there is a need for a law, let it be codified. Otherwise, what is the effect of the law and the government system in the face of the phenomenon of bribery, for example, in Egyptian society? Nothing, of course.

"The proliferation of legislative bodies and bodies issuing decrees and bills is something which provokes conflicts and contradictions, in the absence of deep-rooted general concepts.

"The deterioration in the level of the people making the law."

In response to the requirement that has been raised that deputies should be armed with some education in the law, Fathi Radwan said:

"What about the person who studies law for a grade-point average? What about the deterioration in the level of legal courses and the congestion in them? What have we offered judges and counsellors? The question concerns not just deputies and legislators but all the bodies that deal with the law, in terms of legislation and application.

"The judges have been deficient in monitoring the new legislation and in addition poor formulation has had the effect of severely increasing the load on them. But then why aren't the laws reviewed with a strong conscience in the Legislative and Constitutional Affairs Committee, so that contestations will not arise in their regard? On the other hand, it is necessary to stipulate that the Council of State formulate all the laws issued in the republic (without amending their contents, of course), so that opportunities for

leaks and loopholes and areas of controversy will be closed, provided that the committee formed by the Council of State for that purpose be in charge of comparing the law with other earlier ones and write up a memorandum for the People's Assembly on what it considers appropriate."

#### We Attack and I Strike

Concerning the "ratified" laws bearing on individuals, Fathi Radwan says:

"A tightening up has been noted in the area of political rights, in the press and parties and in the holding of meetings, and with the tightening up there has been an expansion in the area of suspicion and censorship. That may be attributed to the government's feeling of weakness toward the onslaught of opinions, and a permanent fear of them. It resorts to the tailoring of laws to curb these opinions and sometimes resorts to what is called a preventive law, just because it senses that something might arise within public opinion that should be curbed. Unfortunately, that leads to the opposite of what the government is seeking, since provocation increases, tension increases and storms rage."

#### A Relaxation after Hard Times

Absolute values, such as justice, freedom and equality, do not change. It is just the means of acknowledging and codifying them that do change. As long as the identity of the society, and its people and interests, are not clear in the mind of the draft, no law of ours will ever survive. Perhaps Fikri al-Jazzar's statement to the effect that we want a kind of "arbitration" to which we can present acts of legislation on the points of spears, so that we can judge which of them most deserves to survive, is logical and acceptable.

It is not enough that the president align himself toward democracy. The important thing, rather, is that the constitution and the law do so. Otherwise, what guarantee is there that 1,536 eminent Egyptians will not be packed into prisons once again?

The anomalies in legislation are matched by anomalies in the making of administrative decrees. The two are of the same cloth.

Shall we change the constitution so that the president will be by direct election and that will inspire a good climate for legislative and democratic life in Egypt?

Shall we limit the phenomenon of the conversion of laws from the constitution, which is the father of the laws?

Shall the law derive its evidence from people's titles and interests and be guided by them?

Shall an unsightly page in the workshop of laws in Egypt be turned, so that they may begin on a new line?

I believe that our electoral vote is the tiny atom which will determine that.

SENSE OF NATIONAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MUSLIMS, COPTS EXAMINED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3101, 16 Mar 84 pp 30, 31

[Article by Tariq al-Bishri: "The Moslems and Copts in the Framework of National Unity"]

[Text] Adherence to one's identity may be the bastion of faith as far as the individual and the nation are concerned, but dedicated affiliation with the national society is the nation's armor in the face of all its challenges.

This is what Tariq al-Bishri says in his important book "Moslems and Copts in the Framework of the National Society."

This book entails a moving journey through national unity in Egypt from the time of 'Amr ibn al-'As's advent to Egypt up to our present day.

The book investigates the bright face of national unity in Egypt through its long history.

It contains many quotations as evidence.

Shaykh Hasan al-Banna said, "Islam has acquired the character of religious sanctity on behalf of national unity, while once it drew its strength from secular conditions only." Clot Bey said, "The Egyptians are above others in terms of tolerance, because of the gentleness of character and elegance they have forged it into." Cromer said, "The only dispute between a Moslem and Copt is that the former is an Egyptian who prays in a Mohamedan mosque while the latter is an Egyptian who prays in a Christian church."

Tariq al-Bishri embarks on this journey from the point of departure of a specific position, of which he says, "We are not investigating the form of something which has disappeared; rather, we are investigating the form of a living, strong being, and have taken into account, on this good spot of land, equality and participation in the nation, mutual affection and love in life, mutual exchange of visits in our homes, and neighborliness in the grave among Moslems and Copts."

George Young, in his book, "Egypt," in talking about the Copts and Moslems, points out that there never was factional discrimination of the kind that weak minorities suffer from in Europe against the Copts in Egypt throughout its history. The religious schools were open to Copts, who were able to receive instruction in their religion there, and, in areas where the percentage of Coptic inhabitants was high, the government allocated significant aid to Coptic schools. He said that when the Copts could not get into local parliaments, such as the provincial councils, a number of them would be appointed to them, and that for years they were subject to no repression. He also pointed out that the history of the Copts reveals that they suffered more injustice from the people of their own religion, Orthodox or Catholic Christians, than they suffered from the people of their own nation, the Moslems. It inspires one's curiosity that he noted that the relationship between the two groups appears at its strongest on religious occasions. Therefore the Coptic-Islamic brotherhood in 1919 was not new or sudden. Blackmann mentions that the Copts are spread about in all areas of Egypt although there are few towns and villages in which they constitute the majority of the population. Bayer also points out that according to the 1937 census, the Orthodox Copts living in Alexandria and Cairo did not exceed 10 percent. This evidence provided by foreigners, at least, of varying degrees of scholarly integrity, who are not enthusiastic about ignoring disputes between the two groups or showing conciliation, judiciously reveals the extent of the conciliation between the two religious groups in Egyptian society and the united national arena that brings them together. If there are Copts who specialize in financial activities, land surveying and tax collecting and have inherited these professions since the Islamic conquest, and they, like other Egyptians, embrace commercial activities on various levels, what one must consider is that these have not been the only professions in which Copts have been active, and they have not absorbed them as a group in a manner which would reduce them from a religious group to a group with a specific social function and isolate them from other citizens. These professions were generally the professions of their major figures and some mid-level groups. The majority were peasants who farmed the land, engaging in the same productive activity, and the same social life, as the Moslem peasants, and living spread about in the villages and towns.

On top of that, al-Azhar, it seems, did not close its doors to the Copts. The Coptic newspaper AL-WATAN, on 5 May 1916, pointed out that the Copts of old had a pavilion in al-Azhar where they studied the sciences of logic and Islamic law, and that among the people who studied in al-Azhar of old were the children of al-'Assal, who were major educated Copts who authored important books. Among them, recently, have been Mikha'il 'Abd-al-Sayyid, owner of the newspaper AL-WATAN, who studied in al-Azhar then moved to the Dar al-'Ulum, when it was established, Wahbi Tadrus, the poet, who learned the Koran by heart and quoted from it often, and Francis al-'Atr, who appeared at lessons given by Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh in 1902.

#### Nationalist Thinking

Therefore Islam, on the one hand, and the Christianity of the Copts on the other, experienced a commingling of civilizations between Moslems and Copts in Egypt. All this helped create the historic, cultural, social and

psychological climate, and climate of civilization, for the the national concept of the Egyptian political community to take concrete form.

Perhaps it will be beneficial in this regard to refer to the thinking of Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi in order to describe the historic development and the social and political reality regarding the notion of the political community. It has already been pointed out that the examination of al-Tahtawi's thinking in the context of the actual and historic circumstances surrounding it will indicate that this old Egyptian thinker was not excessively enthusiastic and rash in the statements he made but that he chose his ideas in a manner that was consonant with the circumstances of the condition of life and with generally accepted conditions, concentrating on what he considered positive and beneficial for the society in that extended, dynamic context. Rifa'ah pointed to the first pulse beats of Egyptian nationalism in "The Distillation of Pure Gold." When he brought out his book "The Platforms of the Inner Essence," more than 30 years later, in 1869, he spoke about this subject with great interest, demonstrating the power that that notion had come to attain over the course of the development of political thought in Egypt in the second third of the 19th century. In this narration Rifa'ah exerted his effort and intelligence in order to express the notion of the national community in a religious manner and to eliminate suggestions of a contradiction between religion and national affiliation.

Rifa'ah is proud of his Egyptianness and his Egyptian history, ancient and modern. On no occasion does he fail to underline the evidence of Egypt's civilized nature. When he speaks about the story of Joseph, on whom be peace, he refers to the civilization of Egypt, which benefitted from the treatment of Joseph by "the beloved Egypt," on grounds that it imprisoned him for what was ascribed to him but did not kill him even though he was its slave "which indicates that the nation was civilized." He says that Egypt's civilization, and its force for civilization, were based on two aspects: the creation of the civilizaion of "the goods of development" and the civilization of "morality, benefits, and morals, that is, civilization in religion and religious law." Religion is the strongest foundation to give benefit to the world and wordly morality, because it holds man in check. Concerning religion, he emphasizes two things, the fact that it is the "steward of justice and the performance of the good," that is, the notion of equality, and the fact that it is the basis of brotherhood, religious brotherhood or national brotherhood: "true religion is that which concerns the course of action in effecting change and bringing things to an end." He says, who is it who would dare to resist his lord, "and if your lord had wished he would have made man a single people. In this sense we have taken al-Karar's statement into consideration. However, the scope of Islam is broad, and every man may have what he chooses. Thus the permission to adhere to various religions has prevailed among all peoples, even if the religions of the countries in which they are located vary, so that the least damage will not revert to the regime of the country from them." Thus he asserted that the Islamic notion does not deny the presence of people observing other religions, "and permission for people of other religions to observe their religion is based on the oaths that were taken for them at the time of the Islamic conquest. Every Moslem keeps the oath, because the oath in reality in fact is to God." He returned to this notion and pointed to the national unity which is founded



on a basis of the unity of language and unity of affiliation to the group, and our possession of a single political and legal system. "Wisdom dictates a single strong king. The people of the nation are always united in language and in joining in the search for protection of a single king and the guidance of a single legal system and a single policy. That proves that almighty glorious God has prepared for them to cooperate in reforming their nation, and for some of them to be related to others like members of a single family. The nation was the home of their fathers and mothers and the place of their upbringing." He referred to the strength of national cohesion, which is founded on the principle of equality: "Islamic law and policy have made people equal and compelled them to be as the heart of one man." He said that the member of the nation to which he belongs must have the rights of his nation "and the greatest of these rights is total freedom in the founding society. A nationalist is not distinguished by the characteristic of freedom unless he is guided by the law of the nation and determined to carry it out. For him to be guided by the principles of his country implicitly requires that his country guarantee that he have civil rights and enjoy the benefits of civilization." Thus he referred to equality among citizens in regard to duties and rights.

He stated "There is no doubt that the intermixing and intimate association of the people of the book is permissible. What is prohibited is the establishment of tutelage in religion and the dissolution of the relationship of the Moslem to the book and the tutelage of the contract that he has from his guardian, which are close to that." He warned the "kings" that they should not be fanatic about their religion and insert themselves into the issues of religions in order to overturn the beliefs of their subjects who differ from them, because "No ruler can rule over people's hearts." Through such a stratagem they impose hypocrisy upon their subjects, so that the essence of things does not correspond to their appearance. "The mere fanaticism of people regarding their religion, when it harms others, is to be considered only passion, but adherence to the protection of religion so that the word of God will be supreme is beloved and desirable."

He pointed out that love of the nation is a desirable matter in terms of religion because the will to civilization arises only from love of the nation, and love of the nation from faith. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab said, "God built up the country with the love of nations." 'Ali, may God honor his countenance, said "Man's happiness is to have his sustenance in his country." When the prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, went out from Mecca, he mounted his steed and turned to the Ka'bah, saying "By God, I indeed know that you are the most beloved of God's cities to me." Then Rifa'ah said that the territory of Egypt "is the most beloved of nations to its people, and deserves to have them show proof of the effort to attain their hopes through the improvement of morality and morals, for two great reasons, the first being that it is a mother to its inhabitants (and piety toward the parents is a duty, intellectually and in terms of law, for all man) and the second that it is devoted and faithful to them and fertile with good things." Regarding 'Abdallah ibn 'Umar, he then stated "the people of Egypt, the Copts at that time, are the most generous of all foreigners, the most permissive in their conduct, the best in terms of race and the closest in terms of mercy to the Arabs in general and the Quraysh in particular."



Thus he referred to Hagar, the mother of Isma'il, on whom be peace, and the fact that she was from the village of Umm Dinar, or Umm Danin, both of which are in Egypt, or it is said that she is from a town near al-Farma, and to Mariyah the mother of Ibrahim, who was from a village in upper Egypt, from the area of Giza. Regarding 'Umar, the commander of the faithful, may God be pleased with him, he said that he heard the prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace, stating "Almighty glorious God will allow you to conquer Egypt after me, so have the best of will regarding the Copts, for they will have relationships by marriage and protection from you." He, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, said that had Ibrahim lived every Copt would have been relieved of the head tax.

#### National Unity and the 'Urabi Revolution

Proceeding from this premise, the notion of the national community arose without real conflict with the Islamic faith. The idea will recur to the person conducting research into the history of this stage that the notion of Islam at that time expanded the national concept and did not narrow it, and that "Egypt for the Egyptians" appeared as a political slogan expressing the national community and its ambition to establish an independent nation which would be ruled by its own children, from these generations of the people of Egypt, those who had entered modern schools and had occupied minor positions in the system of the government of Muhammad 'Ali then risen in it in the eras of Sa'id and Isma'il, then had demanded influence for the highest levels at the expense of the remaining Turkish and Circassian ruling elite.

Reference was made earlier to the growth of the national concept through the Egyptianization of the system of government, the cultural and intellectual circumstances that supported that process, and the concomitant construction of non-personal organizations and institutions in the government, administration and so forth, above and beyond the emergence of the notion of "citizenship," or the brotherhood of the nation, as al-Tahtawi expressed it. In the seventies, another element of maximum impact was added, in its capacity as a combative and revolutionary element which forged and refined the national community and annealed it into a weapon which was drawn against the tyrannical regime of the ruling Turkish or Turkified elite headed by the Khedive and the Western colonial influence which had come in from abroad. "Egypt for the Egyptians," under whose banner the 'Urabi revolution acted, came into being, and the national idea then advanced, in spite of political defeats and the setbacks, to embrace the following revolution in 1919, as will be pointed out later. The important thing is that "Egypt for the Egyptians," the slogan of the national community in Egypt, always had a meaning which was opposed to tyrannical rule and foreign influence, whether that was economic exploitation, political dominance or military occupation. The national concept was always nationalistic and democratic.

When the National Domestic Party, the first political party in modern Egypt, was formed in 1879 on the eve of the 'Urabi revolution, it was careful to stipulate, in the fifth section of its program, "the National Party is a political party, not a religious one" (that is, it is not a religious party), and that it was made up of men of different beliefs and creeds.

Mr Rashid Rida related that Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh considered that nationalism consisted of the cooperation of people of different religions in the united nation concerning everything that entailed its development and the reform of its government, and that Islam was in no way opposed to that, as its law had proved through justice and equality. In addition, the imam considered that the Copts enjoyed the fullest state of unity, familiarity and cooperation among themselves, and he uttered no statement and committed no act aimed at resisting them or calling on Moslems to do so. Rather, each group had to arrive at independent judgment by itself in raising its financial interests and cooperating with everyone on behalf of the common national interests. Regarding Egypt and the Egyptians, the imam stated "The true Islamic religion is not the enemy of intimacy or war against affection, nor does it prohibit Moslems from benefiting from the work of the people who have common interests with them although they may differ from them with respect to religion." He pointed out that the person who is aware of the true nature of Islam is as far as can be from pagan fanaticism and as close as can be to the people of the various communities, and that the Koran, the source of religions, draws Moslems close to the people of the book "to the point where a person who reflects deeply about it would imagine that there are people among them who differ from them only over a few provisions." However, the enemies of religion have corrupted the hearts of its people "and no hearts are closer to good works than those of the people of Egypt."

'Abdallah al-Nadim in his writings, in the works he wrote reviewing this subject, stressed the notion of domestic unity and brotherhood.

In the paper AL-USTADH, which he issued 10 years after the failure of the 'Urabi revolution and the British occupation of Egypt, al-Nadim wrote "The Moslems and Copts are the people of Egypt; they belong to it and it belongs to them; they know only their own country and go to others only on visits. Time has turned them over the coals of international vicissitudes, the world has risen up in turmoil, and they are still the brothers of nationalism, keeping one another in mind, supporting them in their missions, visiting one another in the manner of the people of one's own home, and sharing with their neighbors in their joys and sorrows, in their knowledge that the country demands that they spend their lives in its various areas maintaining the unity of the national society which the name Egypt involves without regard to religious differences." He pointed out that that was their condition in the days of ignorance and barbarism and that they were in the greatest need of this harmony after knowledge became current among them and they acquired fine manners, prompting the intelligent and wise people of the two groups to cling to the rope of national affiliation. He then stated that there was an Islamic society and a Coptic one "and we have no society which seeks out nationalism; the formation of a society of the two groups stands between them and foreign dogmas." It is clear, from the last sentence, that it was his intention to call for a comprehensive national organization which would stand against the policy of a foreign occupying power which sowed the seeds of dissension in order to tighten its grip on the country.

However, at times, matters and events which Islam finds repugnant in thought and conduct, just as Christianity does, made their appearance among some

people who clad themselves in the raiment of the Islamic current, just as they appeared on the part of some fanatic currents on the other side.

No fair person can confidently attribute these practices to an Islamic religious current pursuing the proper platform, and no specific responsibilities have been discovered regarding any of these events. However, the opinion here does not concern events that have occurred or statements or pamphlets that have been distributed; rather, it is related to the claim of attributing these matters to the Islamic political current, which makes it necessary that one take a vociferous stand to refute this claim and declare Islam's position on these matters, which will have the effect of corrupting their significance and their political role, in terms of action and reaction, and stripping them of the harmful effect which is the purpose behind them.

Expressing disapproval of the attribution of any suspicions regarding the conduct of the Moslem majority toward the Coptic minority in a manner that affects what is called national unity, Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani wrote, in the magazine AL-DA'WAH of December 1979, "The situation in Egypt, from all sides, cannot endure this sort of provocation. The damage caused by abusing this nation will be inflicted first of all on the majority in it: has stupidity among the Moslems in Egypt reached the point where they should damage their country by their own hands and themselves by themselves? I do not believe so, for there still are minds in people's heads."

I can state that no one can guarantee anything in this country except his right to political and social equality -- his right to participation, affection and mercy. As to the degree of the physical satisfaction of needs or luxuries or the type of model of living and life and the regimes themselves, no guarantees exist and the road is hard and long. No one has the power to guarantee everything that lies beyond equality and participation, for his brother or for himself. There is nothing that provides protection except affiliation and self-denial. How can that be realized except through the Islamic nature of the Moslem and the Coptic nature of the Copt together, who are united and incorporated within a single nation on single territory? Equality means unity and guarantees participation. They are the conditions of nationalism, and the determination of equality is a constitutional solution and at the same time requires intellectual activity on comprehensive national and supranational foundations in the context of the higher goals of the society in its confrontation with its enemies and its attainment of its resurgence, not to speak of the revival of proper historic relations among people of different religions in the context of nationalism. Coptic history represents a period of long, ancient Egyptian history, the Coptic era preceded the Islamic era, there is nothing that conflicts with Islam in the definition of the heroic acts of that era, and there were great men in it such as Athanasios and glorious people's movements which are a source of pride and honor for Egypt and the Egyptians.

We are not building anything new in all this or establishing anything out of nothing; rather, we are completing an existing structure and are proceeding along foundations which the people who went before us previously trod.

The majority must show concern for this comprehensive whole just as the religious minority must show concern for the concept in Islamic civilization that is related to their national identity, just as the Moslems greet Coptic history and the glory and pride that is in it, and must also show concern for this comprehensive whole and not permit individuals to violate the framework of the general good of the whole society.

The unity of Egypt in 1919 was not embodied in the spirit of the crescent or the cross. Rather, its symbol was the embracing of the cross by the crescent as a symbol of the embracing by the religious majority of the minority. Here we are not examining a form of a lifeless being but a form of existence, a palpable strong existence, and on this simple subject we take account of equality and participation in the nation, mutual affection and love in life, mutual visits in people's homes, and proximity in the grave.

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CSO: 4504/221

## BRIEFS

RELIGIOUS FIGURE PERSECUTED--The office of the state security investigator has started to use the amendment made in the penal law 2 years ago against the opposition as part of what observers consider a government plan, in the framework of its preparations for the coming parliamentary elections. The office of the investigator has prepared a memorandum stating that Shaykh Hafiz Salamah has been criticizing the Camp David agreement and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty frequently in his meetings in the mosques and that he criticizes "the Israeli conspiracy to destroy the holy temple and the noble Dome of the Rock, in which explosives and arms prepared for destruction have been seized." The chairman of the state security court, Muhsin Mabruk, took charge the day before yesterday of the investigation into Shaykh Hafiz Salamah and directed against him the charge of "criticizing government policy and the laws in effect in the symposia he holds in various mosques, by violating the penal code, which prohibits imams in mosques from addressing themselves in mosques to government policy and the laws in effect." It is well known that numerous democratic political forces opposed the law when it was amended, at the time, 2 years ago, and described it as unconstitutional. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 14 Mar 84 p 7] 11887

NPD MEMBERSHIP AVOIDED--Doctor Yahya al-Jamal, a former prominent member of the opposition Egyptian National Unionist Grouping Party, has refused to join the ruling National Party on the pretext of maintaining his independence. This is well-known. The fundamental reason which al-Jamal is hiding from his closest friends--according to the opinion of a well-informed Egyptian elder statesman--is that Dr al-Jamal is betting on President Mubarak's withdrawal from the ruling party's membership either in the near future or following the parliamentary elections in May. Should Mubarak head a new party, al-Jamal would be a prime candidate to play a major role in the party. If, on the other hand, Mubarak adopts neutrality with regard to parties then al-Jamal will have spared himself a commitment to a party which currently exercises influence merely because it is in power. [Text] [Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in English No 793, 7 Mar 84 p 29]

CSO: 4504/236

MILITARY PROTOCOL WITH GDR SIGNED

Valletta JAMAHIRIYA MAIL in English 24 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] At the end of the visit by the Chief of Staff of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces Brigadier Mustapha Kharroubi to the Democratic Republic of Germany, a protocol for mutual cooperation in the military field was signed in Berlin

The text was signed by the Chief of Staff of Libyan Arab Armed Forces. For the Democratic German side the text was signed by Heinz Hoffmann, member of Party Central Committee and Minister of Defence. The ceremony was attended by members of the two delegations.

Brigadier Mustapha Kharroubi paid a three-day visit to the Democratic Republic of Germany during which he held talks on strengthening cooperation and friendship between the Jamahiriya and the Democratic Republic of Germany.

During the visit Kharroubi met Erich Honecker, Secretary General of the Socialist Unity Party and Chairman of State of the Democratic Republic of Germany and delivered to him a hand-written message from the revolution's leader. He also received the reply from the Chairman of the German State.

CSO: 4500/59



## EFFECTS OF DROUGHT ON GRAIN REPORTED

Casablanca LE MATIN DU SAHARA in French 29 Feb 84 p 5

[Text] Morocco is above all an agricultural country.

Its good geographic position and favorable climatic conditions have supported the development of Morocco's agricultural sector.

It is true that our country, because of its heavy reliance on agriculture, has remained vulnerable to climatic vagaries; but the introduction of modern machinery and new methods of ploughing have stimulated the flourishing of agriculture.

However, the drought, which has ravaged some regions in the south has seriously damaged other provinces, has impeded the effectiveness of the praiseworthy efforts previously made in those provinces, primarily because of the shortage of water Morocco has experienced since 1980.

Despite increases in the surface area used for growing grain, yields remain below predicted levels. For example, in 1983 grain production declined 27.2 percent against the previous year. The same is also true for other crops, including plums.

Morocco's climate is one of the most critical factors in agricultural production. Because of its geographic location, our country has a climate characterized by contrasting seasons, with dry periods alternating with rainy ones and sultry weather alternating with cooler.

Rain was abundant when the 1982-1983 agricultural season first started. Thus, cereal grains were initially better than those of the preceding year.

However, precipitation was very scarce in the east and south during the months of May and January.

Consequently, grain production fell.

In reality, hard wheat production amounted to 12,385.8 million quintaux [1 quintal = 100 kg], compared to 14,062 the year before, thus showing a decline of 11.9 percent compared to the season [text missing] reached 36.7 million quintaux, or a decline of 27.2 percent, corn being the only grain that showed increased production.

Indeed, production of corn during the 1982-1983 season increased to 2,610.2, compared to 2,469 a year before.

But in terms of yield, there was a decline--6 percent, compared to 6.2 percent the previous year. By contrast, the surface area reserved for corn increased, going from 400 million hectares in 1982 to 434.8 million hectares in 1983.

The government, confronted with these facts, was forced to import grain. This [text missing] However, hard wheat saw a 16.2 percent increase in area under cultivation: 1,285.9 million hectares in 1983, compared to 1,107 million hectares in the previous year.

In terms of yield, as one can see on Table 1, it was 9.6 quintaux per hectare, compared to 12.79 quintaux per hectare in the previous year, for a 24.4 percent decline.

Production of soft wheat also fell (see Table 1).

In 1983, soft wheat production came to 7,317.8 million quintaux, thus showing a 5.8 percent decline compared to the previous season.

Yield showed a 30.8 percent decline, although area under cultivation increased by 19.1 percent.

The same picture prevails with respect to production of barley, which declined 5.7 percent in comparison to the previous year's production. Similarly, yields declined 3.2 percent.

By contrast, cultivated area increased 5.1 percent against the previous year.

In sum, annual grain production has affected the balance of trade. And in order to protect the growers, it [the government] has taken a number of steps to lighten the growers' burden of expenses. Thus, for example, they were exempted from the agriculture tax, and also allowed to reschedule their debts to the National Agricultural Credit Fund.

Those abnormal climatic conditions that affected the grain harvest also damaged plum production.

In fact, plum-growing regions were affected by the lack of rain during the critical months of the year (December-January). The repercussions of this drought made themselves felt on the level of plum production in Marrakech, Souss, Oriental and Beni Mellal.

National plum production, all varieties included, reached 985,000 tons that year (1983), compared to 1,002,000 tons in 1981-1982, for a 4.4 percent decline.

With respect to early varieties, there was an 18 percent decline in the tonnage of clementines produced.

With respect to all varieties, it could be pointed out that quality levels have been affected across the board, particularly between-season varieties, by the lack of rainfall.

As we have seen, there was a serious decline in both production and yield of plums in the 1982-1983 agricultural season.

Leguminous crops, by contrast, have seen increased production. This is the case, for example, with production of beans and lentils, which benefited from an augmentation of the surface area under cultivation, and also from the salutary rains that fell on the principal growing regions.

And, as one might observe from Table 2, leguminous production grew 23.9 percent by comparison with the previous 1981-1982 season.

This is the case for bean production, which reached 1,422,400 quintaux, for a 44.1 percent increase over the past year. Lentils, peas and chick-peas were also on the upswing, with production increases respectively of 26.7, 10.8, and 9.8 percent.

In short, average yield was superior to the level reached in 1981-1982. If leguminous crops enjoyed bigger harvests, industrial crops were no less involved in expansion.

They showed marked increases in production, despite the abnormal climatic conditions.

Total production of industrial crops (sugar beet, cotton and sugar cane) came to a total of 33,474,400 quintaux in 1982-1983, a 17.7 percent increase over the previous season.

Sugar beets alone came to 25,885,600 quintaux during the 1982-1983 season, which amounts to a 16.4 percent increase over the previous season.

However, sugar cane declined by comparison to the past year, with production totaling 7,349,200 quintaux, a 44.1 percent decline.

The amount of sugar extracted from sugar beets and sugar cane came to 350,000 tons, which covered 70 percent of domestic consumption needs, compared to only 59 percent a year ago.

As for the surface area reserved for the cultivation of sugar, it rose from 12,800 hectares in 1982 to 15,600 hectares in 1983, an increase of 21 percent.

Cotton, another industrial crop, saw a 16.7 percent increase compared to the previous season. Production in 1983 was 239,600 quintaux, compared to 199,500 quintaux--and that was on a cultivated area of 10,600 hectares.

Oleaginous crops also saw increased production during the 1982-1983 agricultural season. This was the case, for example, with sunflower, which showed a 15 percent increase over the previous season.

On the other hand, production of groundnuts declined 22.8 percent, and amounted to only 315,800 quintaux in 1983.

It is certain that the size of the area under cultivation plays an important role in production and yield. Truck gardens account for 1.8 percent of total useable agricultural land, or 143,100 hectares, a figure which includes the 16 percent increase in cultivation compared to last year. And potatoes cover the largest single portion of that area: they are grown on 40,000 hectares. Tomatoes are next, being grown on 15,000 hectares, followed by onions, covering 12,800 hectares.

Land left fallow in 1982-1983 came to 822,137,100 hectares, or 16.7 percent of the useable land, a 21.9 percent decline from the previous season.

Among the crops of importance to the national economy, we should mention fruit plantations. The latter represent 6.4 percent of the useable agricultural land. Fruit plantations saw a 2.8 percent increase over the previous year, with production in 1983 amounting to 16,430,700 quintaux.

INCREASES IN GROWER'S PRICE FOR GRAIN PRODUCTION

	Hard Wheat			Soft Wheat			Barley			Corn			Rice		
	Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent	
1969-70	44.00	-		40.00	-		27.00/29.00	-		-	-		47.00	-	
1970-71	47.00	6.8		43.00	7.5		27.00/29.00	-		-	-		50.00	6.4	
1971-72	47.00	-		43.00	-		28.00/30.00	3.7/3.4		-	-		55.00	10.0	
1972-73	49.00	4.2		45.00	4.6		28.00/30.00	-		-	-		50.00	9.1	
1973-74	63.00	28.6		60.00	33.3		40.00	33.3		45.00	-		75.00	50.0	
1974-75	63.00	-		60.00	-		40.00	-		45.00	-		90.00	20.0	
1975-76	63.00	-		60.00	-		40.00	-		45.00	-		90.00	-	
1976-77	85.00	34.9		85.00	41.6		65.00	62.5		65.00	44.4		98.00	8.8	
1977-78	85.00	-		85.00	-		65.00	-		65.00	-		98.00	-	
1978-79	105.00	23.5		105.00	23.5		80.00	23.1		80.00	23.1		98.00	-	
1979-80	125.00	19.0		125.00	19.0		90.00	12.5		90.00	12.5		117.00	19.4	
1980-81	135.00	8.0		135.00	8.0		96.00	6.7		96.00	6.7		163.00	22.2	
1981-82	140.00	3.7		140.00	3.7		100.00	4.2		100.00	4.2		182.00	27.3	
1982-83	140.00	-		140.00	-		100.00	-		100.00	-		182.00	-	
1983-84	150.00	7.14		150.00	7.14		110.00	10.00		130.00	30.00		194.00	6.59	
													233.00	6.88	

Source: Official bulletins, ministerial decrees.

CHANGES IN GROWER'S PRICE FOR OLEAGINOUS SEEDS

	Sunflower			Cotton			Rapeseed			Soya			Linseed			Safflower			Groundnut		
	Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent		Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent	
1969-70	64.00			-			-			-			-			-			-		
1970-71	64.00			-			-			-			-			-			-		
1971-72	64.00			-			-			-			-			-			-		
1972-73	73.50	14.2		-			-			-			-			-			-		
1973-74	90.00	22.4		65			120			120			-			-			-		
1974-75	130.00	44.4		65			120			120			130			100			-		
1975-76	130.00			65			120			120			130			100			-		
1976-77	130.00			65			120			120			130			100			-		
1977-78	130.00			65			120			120			130			100			-		
1978-79	130.00			65			120			120			130			100			-		
1979-80	185	42.3		95	46.1		175	45.8		175	45.8		190	46.1		145	45		-		
1980-81	185			95			175			175			190			145			-		
1981-82	256	38.4		124.00	30.5		227	30.0		227.5	30.0		247.0	30.0		189	30.3		300		
1982-83	270	5.46		132	9.84		242	6.60		242.0	6.60		260	5.26		200	5.82		320	6.66	
1983-84	300	11.11		145	9.84		270	11.57		270	11.57		290	11.53		220	10.00		350	9.37	

Source: Official bulletin, ministerial decrees.



Table of Changes in Production, Yields,  
and Area Under Cultivation in Grain

	1 9 8 1 - 1 9 8 2			1 9 8 2 - 1 9 8 3		
	Area	Production	Yield	Area	Production	Yield
Hard Wheat	1,107	14,062	12.7	1,285.5	12,385.5	9.6
Soft Wheat	579	7,772	13.4	689.8	7,317.8	10.6
Barley	2,046	23,337	11.4	2,150.8	12,278.7	5.7
Corn	400	2,469	6.2	434.8	2,610.2	6.0
Total	4,132	47,640	11.5	4,560.9	34,592.2	7.98

Changes in Crop Area and Yield for Legumes, 1982-1983

Leguminous Crops	Area in 000's of hectares			Production in 000's of quintaux		Yield in quintaux/ hectare	
	1981-82	82-83	Change as percent	81-82	82-83	81-82	82-83
Beans	111.2	170.6	53.4	986.8	1423.3	8.9	8.3
Green Peas	34.0	47.6	4.0	218.0	241.6	6.4	5.1
Chick-Peas	60.5	64.7	6.9	508.7	558.6	6.5	8.6
Lentils	39.1	78.6	101.0	252.7	320.3	8.4	4.1
Others	50.0	41.4	17.2	250.2	202.1	4.9	4.9
Total Leguminous Crops	294.8	402.9	36.6	2216.4	2745.9	7.5	6.8

# Changes in Grower's Price for Sugar Crops

	Sugar Beets		Sugar Cane	
	Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent	Price in dirhams/ quintal	Increase as percent
1971 - 72	60	-	-	-
1972 - 73	66	10	-	-
1973 - 74	76	15	-	-
1974 - 75	96	26.3	65	-
1975 - 76	96	-	65	-
1976 - 77	96.0	-	65	-
1977 - 78	115.2	20.0	81.25	25
1978 - 79	115.2	-	81.25	-
1979 - 80	135	17.2	95	17
1980 - 81	135	-	95	-
1981 - 82	155	14.8	105	10.50
1982 - 83	155	-	105	-
1983 - 84	175	12.90	120	14.28

Source: Official bulletins, Ministry of Economic Affairs.

9516

CSO: 4519/132

NEED TO REESTABLISH AUTHENTIC REFORM STRESSED

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 3 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Dr Hamouda Ben Slama]

[Text] Our country has just sagged dangerously under the effective and affective impact of recent events.

They were not expected. And they were not wanted.

At least not at a time when the process of democratization seemed to have been undertaken and to be moving along much better than at any other time in the history of independent Tunisia.

It was a matter--and it always is, I hope--of pluralism, trade union freedoms, freedom of expression and association, the rights of man, social advancement, etc.

And then suddenly those who are not affiliated with any existing structure and whom we regarded wrongly as abstract fringe and marginal groups in our population have suddenly and desperately brought their existence and their presence back to mind.

They have also demonstrated their power to a political class caught unawares and stupefied.

Yes, one must admit today, after the storm, that the political speeches by government officials or others in the opposition, the trade unions, the media and intellectual circles, as well as the tactics of the regime and its opponents, fell far short of anticipating, containing, channeling, filtering or reflecting the thirst and the need for life, dignity and economic security felt for generations by hundreds of thousands of young Tunisians, those education has failed, the part-time workers, the unemployed youth and the residents of the popular neighborhoods and slums.

It is unfortunate that their appeal or their reminder to our national conscience should have been carried out in violence, hatred and confrontation among Tunisians, between those among them who feel that they have been injured and others who "dream of a colonel" who would guarantee their threatened safety, rescue many privileges and consolidate their wealth.

It is intolerable that rebellion, plundering, theft, destruction, crime and vandalism have won out yet again over democratic and organized forms of popular challenge and demand.

However, one thing is certain.

Street events have become a new factor which can no longer be ignored or minimized, in the range of political components and events which are occurring and evident.

This also serves to complicate an already difficult situation in the field due to the socioeconomic fragility of Tunisia, and also because we have made the difficult and laborious wager on democracy and pluralism to rescue us from it.

Did we make the right choice?

Despite the conflict and the discontent, we must prove to ourselves in any case that this choice needed to be made and consolidated.

We owe it to ourselves to protect and promote this choice, if only to protect ourselves and safeguard a certain concept of public and political life which we hold so dear despite everything.

This concept is currently under attack and threatened.

The civil regime is in fact in danger, and some in our country consider it suspended.

I truly fear that this may be the first and main conclusion to which any serious, objective and positive analysis of the situation now must lead.

Safety and Freedom

Is there still a possibility, is there the will to save the civil regime, the very young republican tradition in modern Tunisia?

Personally, I very much fear that I cannot approach this burning, painful issue except through what I regard as desirable for my country, rather than by listing the so-called objective data which lead one much more toward pessimism than optimism.

In any case, the question which already arises for all those among us who want to be optimistic and positive, and I am one such, is how to achieve the balance between the need for security and the need for freedom in any undertaking to safeguard and consolidate the republic and civil regime in Tunisia.

Security and freedom cannot henceforth but go hand in hand.

The one must support the other as a function of the limitations, the stakes and the resources.

For the real bottleneck is that of resources, singularly restricting the maneuvering room in a situation which has been economically and socially difficult for years now.

Chronic bad management, in particular on the level of the state structures, also complicates this quantitative lack.

The real causes, profound and chronic, are there.

They do not date back solely to the falsification of the 1 November 1981 election. They go back much farther in time, and many people know this, in full awareness that historically, they bear a responsibility for it.

And what has just happened in Tunisia also serves as an example of what the consequences of an unpopular measure may be when one is in a country where the crisis is managed on a day-by-day basis.

Any government whatsoever and any government leader faces this, and will for many years still to come in Tunisia.

This truth should not be forgotten: In managing a crisis, above all when it is the product of a common "heritage," one is led at one time or another to contemplate or adopt unpopular measures.

And thus one is exposed to popular discontent.

Above all, when one does not go about it properly or fails to protect oneself with the maximum number of precautions.

Nor should this other truth resulting from the first be forgotten: The Tunisian mosaic will for many years to come expose whatever regime there may be to all kinds of maneuvers to destroy stability.

And it is possible for any force at all even somewhat organized or inclined to do so, to make an attempt to destroy stability in a country as open and as fragile as Tunisia.

The fact that we know we are all in the same boat would perhaps constitute the best protection against this temptation and this danger.

And also, the fact that we know that there is no miracle which can correct the situation, whatever the level of rigor, good faith and authenticity on the part of the force or forces undertaking the work of reform or change in order to respond to the current difficulties.

However, economic realism does not prevent us from stressing, above and despite everything, the urgent need for such rigor within the perspective of the new political dialogue.

## Means of Safeguarding the Civil Regime

How then can the civil regime be maintained, following the trauma and the warning signals of these recent times?

An action requiring two phases seems possible to me.

Provided we are willing to pay the price in rigor and political courage.

A positive psychological shock equal to that which shook the country in negative fashion could be created by immediate measures.

This healthy shock would be a necessary and prior condition for being able to undertake the most profound reforms of the political structures in a second phase, in order to reassess the great scourge which lay basically at the origin of the crisis, or rather crises, the country has experienced. I mean the ill-adapted and inadequate model for development based mainly on consumption, speculation and a preoccupation with business deals.

In the short run, it is necessary to move in three directions.

1. To respond to the basic and vital need for security, which should at present override all other factors.

The citizens of Tunisia, whatever their level, as well as the production and developmental forces, are more than ever committed to the protection of their integrity, their property and the fruits and gains derived from their labor and their contribution to the national effort.

The Tunisian citizen is the conservator in this connection.

And he has reason to be.

To tax and punish everyone indiscriminately because there are people in the system who speculate or who have unjustified privileges or who line their own pockets excessively at the expense of others can never be justified in the eyes of the people of Tunisia.

The citizen of Tunisia cares deeply about his security.

This vital need has been seriously attacked and threatened.

It is time to secure and reestablish confidence, because no other basic action, including the consolidation of the process of democratization, can be possible without the preliminary establishment of respect for the dictates of security.

The state must protect and defend the security of the citizen, and therefore has a duty to halt any effort or temptation toward self-defense or toward the development of private or black market structures which would subsequently threaten the social and community network.



It is clear that this duty to ensure security must take into account and promote the duty to provide freedom and the necessary respect for the rights of man, at the same time.

It is within this security aspect that I would appeal, paradoxical as it may seem, for the necessary release of political prisoners and the promulgation of general amnesty laws, because these would be steps which would reinforce security through the consolidation of the National Solidarity Front.

A state which efficiently guarantees the security of its citizens and their property is not necessarily a police state.

It is the just state, the state of law which is capable of providing safety in a harmonious, humane and balanced fashion, with respect for the legal procedures.

Within this concept of security, respect for the rights of man and the effective exercise of public freedoms will play the great role of a national conscience, as protectors and defenders of moral values and the indispensable barriers holding back and preventing any effort at alienation.

The state apparatus as well as the counterbalancing authorities must constantly see to it that the individual is not crushed and that his integrity, dignity and vital needs are not threatened by totalitarian temptations, automation or mechanisms.

#### Strengthening the Credibility of the State

2. Another step on a national scale with a view to reestablishing and strengthening the authority and the credibility of the state in the eyes of the citizens and public opinion, as well as abroad, particularly in the eyes of our partners who are participating in the work of national development, is equally urgent, in the short run and with first priority.

In a country in the process of development like Tunisia, the state is the privileged tool of promotion when it comes to economic, social and cultural action. Whenever the state loses its credibility hesitates or gives evidence of discord and friction on the government level, its consistency is threatened and it can no longer assume and guarantee its role where the work of development and its various partners are concerned.

Therefore it is imperative to introduce greater cohesion on the level of the state executive structures.

This greater cohesion in the government apparatus is necessary in order rapidly to place the state in a better position to undertake the indispensable national dialogue with all the active forces in the country.

Moving in the direction of negotiation, reform and corrective action involves many positive steps which would not be possible or fully beneficial unless pursued by state representatives with credibility and greater strength.

It is to be feared that partisan tactics and "legitimate" appetites may be encouraged and accelerated thanks to the weakness of the state and its loss of credibility, and that this will be a temptation to profit from these things within the context of a power struggle for many of those we would rather see mobilized in the joint search for the needed platform and consensus.

The greater homogeneity in the government apparatus should be achieved basically on the basis of a platform of concepts and specific and concrete actions, and should thus avoid any efforts at superficial repairs, "regional balance" or hiring more personnel.

3. To establish, in the short run, a program to guarantee economic security to the neglected regions and fringe populations.

When it has felt threatened and injured in terms of economic security, this substantial portion of the population which has the right to demand the exercise of national solidarity in its favor has come into the streets.

It is said that it has been incited to come into the streets and this has been exploited, in an attempt to make capital of it for other than economic reasons. That may be.

But that economic insecurity is at the base of the difficulties is a certainty.

Security must therefore be provided through the announcement of a series of clear and unambiguous measures on three levels, including:

--A policy of compensation;

--A policy of mastering the development of prices and income; and

--A policy of real transfer which will guarantee substantial social benefits serving as incentives on both the individual and family levels.

It is necessary to turn to, involve and affiliate with the drafting of these measures, as well as others of a different economic and social nature, both independent-thinking structures such as the university and associations of a scientific nature and orders and bodies in the professional and community categories.

This new approach in consultation and methods would make it possible to meet the scientific requirement of rigor, technical efficiency and calm which must increasingly characterize the decisions and the guidelines of an economic and social nature in our country.

Guaranteeing security, reestablishing the credibility of the state and strengthening the economic security of those economically weakest seem to me to be the three directions to be pursued immediately.

## Another Model for Development

They should make it possible to approach, to undertake in better fashion, the indispensable reorganization of the political structures and the developmental plan, so properly challenged and criticized by the majority of the political and social components, in a second phase.

The eventual launching of a demythifying national debate would be the test of truth for everyone.

This discussion should confront all of the components and active forces in the Tunisian mosaic with their responsibilities in the consolidation, strengthening and extension of the process of democratization which, despite everything--and happily--has been begun in the country.

This process, interlinked with the official endorsement of the pluralist choice, would be consolidated by activity on four levels.

1. The definition and clear, equitable and uncompromising delimitation of the rights and duties of the political and social structures, including the party or parties in power, within the framework of a deontological and ethical set of rules of a patriotic dimension, which must transcend any situational factors such as to give these structures the necessary aspect of public usefulness.

The party in power must overcome and rise above its current weaknesses and contradictions.

The PSD [Destourian Socialist Party] must reestablish its links with the partition tradition and become a political party again.

It must search for, learn and find again mobilization, authenticity, credibility and...difficulty (it should aid the state rather than depend upon it).

It should be able to become competitive, on the level of speeches and methods.

This needed reconversion of the PSD would contribute greatly to the consolidation of the pluralist choice.

When a party in power weakens, its weakness upsets the entire democratic game and poses a serious threat, because it reacts in the necessary pluralist confrontation as a weak force.

That is to say it functions in brutal, blind and suicidal fashion.

This attitude threatens and hinders the development of the other political groups and political life in general. An example and a nefarious consequence of this is seen in the unfortunate development of the 1 November 1981 elections.

It is necessary to take the risk of asserting that the weakness of a party in power in a country such as Tunisia, and in this stage of pluralism which is embryonic, does not benefit the opposition.

The opposition should, moreover, be able to assume the fully responsible and historic role which falls to it, along with the independent circles.

This complex should serve a publicly useful purpose, in particular through the exercise of a counterauthority which is absolutely indispensable to the balance and harmony of the political system.

This complex should moreover participate in and work toward a better democratic and organized framework for Tunisian society, its youth above all.

This defect in the structure and channeling has been one of the aggravating factors contributing to recent events.

Once the opposition has effectively achieved the right of acceptance, on the regional and local levels in particular, we can then ask and even demand that the political parties rely much more on their own forces and structures than on the weaknesses and shortcomings of others.

And we can also demand that the rules of the game not be upset by any interference or maneuvers, above all when the country is faced with serious crises threatening its essential aspect.

2. The process of democraticization would also be consolidated by the necessary search for better representation, dictated first of all by the content of the texts and laws, which would need to be updated and made more consistent with the constitution.

How, for example, could one approach the coming electoral periods, or ask that they be moved up, if care is not taken in advance and in calm to amend the present electoral code, electoral districting, the associations law and the press code?

#### Same Conflicts, Same Deception

Failing such a modernization and adaptation, elections held in advance, or even as scheduled, could lead to the same conflicts, practices and deceptions, which would invalidate the ballots and deprive democracy of its greatest asset once again.

3. The process of democratization would also be consolidated if the chronology of these reforms were then to lead toward better representation and more efficient constitutional structures. The Chamber of Deputies and the Economic and Social Council, for example, which have tolerated events when they should have foreseen and prevented them, should be able to offer broader and more extensive fields of action, agreements and confrontation to the national collective.

4. And finally, the process of democratization would be consolidated if we were not to forget along the way that we are in a country in the process of development, and that due dates spare no one and will not bypass us.

Economically and socially, Tunisia will experience 3 difficult years, of which 1984 is one.

It is necessary to understand this, as well as the fact that the process of democratization could help cover the cost.

In other words there are limits which should not be exceeded, rules which should not be broken, and risks for all which should not be taken.

And first of all there is the risk that one fine day, thanks to seeing the interplay between those in power and those seeking it refined and "becoming more subtle," the citizen himself, faced and crushed with difficulties, due bills and insecurity, will begin to doubt everything and everyone. Allowing further deterioration should not be regarded as a political alternative.

#### A New and Mobilizing Debate

In order to protect the country against these risks, and on the basis of the fact that our respective debates have not been accepted and no longer will be, it is necessary to begin to look for and seriously draft an authentic and mobilizing new political debate the ideological and cultural substratum of which will derive from the roots of the civilization of our region.

This would be one of the best kinds of protection. Some of the foreign media were aware of this during the recent events and attempted, slyly and insidiously, to raise doubts and questions about certain authentic choices of modern Tunisia, such as its dedication to Arab and Islamic values, support of the Palestinian cause, etc.

The other aspect of protection against the risk of sideslipping involves the struggle for economic security and against dependence.

And, in the short run, we can place our reliance, among other things, on a program and concrete and mobilizing goals of self-sufficiency in food and reforms of an agricultural and rural nature.

Through the medium of information reoriented and redirected toward the imperatives of education and diversified community actions, the middle-class or wealthy Tunisian citizen should achieve a better understanding that he is leaving above his means, that he has become a consumer, that he is sometimes wasteful and that he must rediscover the virtues of solidarity and civic conscience.

Thus the second phase of reform would be designed to consolidate the process of democratization on the basis of a broad national debate and the chronological establishment of:

- A standard of public usefulness to be imposed on staff structures;
- Adaptation of the texts to the terms and the spirit of the constitution;
- Better representation and intervention by the constitutional structures in national life;
- Development of a renewed political debate; and
- A struggle for economic security and against dependence;

#### Decisive Presidential Support

At this stage, the country has yet to attempt to free itself.

Can we embark on the first stage of reform?

I would say at the outset that we can.

Perhaps this represents excessive optimism or fear of despair.

And then, this reform work would benefit greatly if the initiative were to come from those who are in power, in concert with the organized social and political groups as well as independent and patriotic circles.

This work would be greatly advanced if it were to benefit from the sponsorship and the guarantee of the chief of state.

His contribution would be decisive, particularly since Bourguiba cannot forget that he personally placed himself in the fine tradition of the authentic Tunisian reform movement and in his period as a militant for freedom and dignity, he breathed into it new renewal and modernism.

It is a question of reinventing and rehabilitating authentic reformism, so consistent with the historical profile of Tunisia, and giving it back its right of existence.

A final word: The people of Tunisia are exasperated and exhausted by the struggle or the war for succession.

First of all it is sterile, and also and above all, it is dangerous. It is certainly one of the background factors for recent events.

It causes us to lose time, energy and a part of Tunisia's prestige.

It will lead to nothing positive for the Tunisia of tomorrow, because everything then will be different.

What Tunisia of Tomorrow?

A reading and rereading of the painful events of January 1984, which saddened our collective awareness, suddenly face us with the harsh prospect of tomorrow's crises.



It is perhaps too early or too late to discuss it, to write, to exchange impressions and proposals.

I have taken the risk of the effort in full independence.

Tunis, 10 February 1984

5157

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## KURDISH PUK TO JOIN PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL FRONT

Khartoum SUNA DAILY BULLETIN IN English No 4813, 29 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] Baghdad, Iraq, March 29, (AP-AFP)--Iraq officially announced Wednesday that a rebel Kurdish faction would join an alliance of political groups led by the ruling Arab Socialist Baath Party.

Naim Haddad, Secretary General of the three-party Progressive Nationalist Front (PNF), said Jalal Talabani's rebel Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) "will certainly join the PNF," through which minor political groups take part in running the country's political life along with the ruling Arab Socialist Baath Party.

Haddad, in a terse interview with the state-controlled Al-Iraq newspaper, said "dialogue is continuing with the PUK...which will take part with other parties of the PNF in discussing the new draft charter for national action."

Haddad's remarks are the first official Iraqi reference to talks between the government of President Saddam Hussein and Talabani's PUK which has been involved in anti-government activities in the northern Iraqi province.

On the other hand, Iraq Wednesday accused the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) of launching a defamation campaign against Iraq "serving only Zionist interests."

The Director of the Information Ministry's Foreign Department, Hassan Tawalbeh, said a U.S. State Department report on the existence of 13,000 political prisoners in Iraq, read by broadcast as the basis for a news item, was several months old.

"There is no longer a single political prisoner in Iraq," he said. The prisons had been emptied following government amnesties.

Mr. Tawalbeh said despite the fact that Iraq had been at war for nearly four years neither martial law nor exceptional legislative measures had been declared.

"Of all the media in the world only the BBC took the initiative, on the instructions of its pro-Zionist management, to publish this report," he said.

## SHEFAR'AM CONFERENCE ADDRESSES PROBLEMS OF ARAB COMMUNITIES

## Conference Discussions

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic No 497, 25 Feb 84 pp 28-30

[Article by Tal'at Musa: "Shefar'am Conference: New Committee of Heads of Local Arab Authorities; Committee Tantamount to Higher Authority"]

[Text] A great accomplishment has been achieved for the "unity of Arab ranks" in the meeting and resolutions of Shefar'am. The Israeli authorities discriminate in rights and services on an ethnic basis. This is why the heads of the local Arab authorities have defined their position clearly.

In the past few months, the local Jewish and Arab authorities have experienced extremely difficult conditions because of the financial crisis they are encountering. The root of the crisis lies--as Menakhem Ariav, the mayor of Nazareth, has said--in the policy of the Ministries of Interior and of Finance which remit funds to the local authorities on the basis that the inflation rate is just 125 percent whereas any child in Israel knows that the inflation rate in Israel is 200 percent or more.

This observation by the mayor of Upper Nazareth was made at the meeting held by the representatives of the local Jewish authorities in the Galilee on 5 February 1984 to discuss the difficult financial conditions experienced by their local and municipal councils, with the debts of these councils amounting to nearly 2 billion shekels.

If these are the conditions of the Jewish local councils, then what is the situation insofar as the Arab local councils are concerned?

The fact is that all the local Arab authorities are experiencing an acute financial crisis which is threatening their municipal services with complete paralysis. This is due to the small budgets allocated for them to start with, to the government's delay in remitting these budgets in the second place and to the monetary inflation which crushes the real value of the funds in the third place.

The heads of all the local authorities agree that this harsh situation cannot go on for long. This is why they are threatening, each separately, and why

the Regional Committee of the heads of the Arab local authorities is threatening to launch a fierce battle that starts with partial strikes and ends with a comprehensive strike in the entire Arab community in support of the struggle of the local authorities.

#### Doubled Crisis in Arab Community

In fact, many of the Arab local and municipal councils have sounded the alarm as a result of these deteriorating financial conditions that cannot be compared with the conditions of the Jewish local authorities. At the beginning of every month and even from week to week, the workers of this or that local Arab authority or village go on strike because their wages are not paid. The representatives of the Kafr Yasif Local Council and the local inhabitants were forced to stage a demonstration on the 5th of last month before the premises of the Ministry of Education in Jerusalem in protest of the ministerial authorities' procrastination in remitting the funds needed by the council. Nimr Murqus, the council chairman, announced that his council's administration had reached the point where they could not pay the worker's wages.

Muhammad 'Ibri Nassar, the chairman of the 'Arrabah Local Council, also announced that the teachers of his village's secondary school had not received their salaries for last January and that this is why they had declared their intention to stage a warning work strike in the 3d week of this month after having already staged a 2-day strike in the preceding week. Nassar pointed out that his village's local council is suffering from a financial deficit in its budget of about 15 million shekels. This is what the Israeli radio itself mentioned on 15 February 1984. The radio mentioned 3 days later (18 February) that the teachers of Kafr Qasim secondary school continued their strike for the 3d successive day, with the approval of the Secondary School Teachers Union, for the same reason, keeping in mind that they had previously gone on strike in protest of the same situation.

A single example perhaps reveals the doubled crisis the Arab local councils are experiencing in comparison with the crisis of the Jewish local authorities.

At a recent meeting between a number of heads of the local authorities and the director of the youth clubs section of the Ministry of Education, it was revealed that the budget allocated for the youth clubs in the district represented by those chairmen amounted to just 11 million shekels whereas the budget for the youth clubs in Qiryat Ata alone amounted to 22 million shekels.

Thus, all officials in the Arab local authorities are aware that the conditions created for them by the policy of ethnic [al-qawmi] discrimination and of financial, social and cultural strangulation and blockade make it more necessary than ever before for every independent Arab local unit to establish the broadest coalition possible in the same city or village and to entrench the comprehensive unity of the Arab local authorities.

## Meeting at Level of Responsibility

Under the canopy of these conditions, the heads of the Arab local authorities in the town of Shefar'am met on Wednesday, 8 February 1984, within a regional framework to elect the new Regional Committee of the heads of the Arab local authorities. The acute financial crisis being experienced by their local and municipal councils was the focal topic of discussion at their meeting. These heads elected unanimously in their general conference their new Regional Committee under the chairmanship of Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, the mayor of Shefar'am. The conferees also adopted the proposal of the political committee emanating from the Chairmen's Committee and attending this conference.

The members of the newly-elected Regional Committee were the following:

1. Ibrahim Nimr Husayn (Shefar'am).
2. Muhammad Ghanayim (Sakhnin).
3. Zaki Jubran (al-Jush).
4. Nimr Murqus (Kafr Yasif).
5. 'Abbas Hijazi (Tamra).
6. Muhammad Manna' (Majd el Kurum).
7. Tawfiq Ziyad (Nazareth).
8. Salih Darawishah (Iksal).
9. Ahmad Abu-al-Layl ('Ein Mahil).
10. As'ad 'Azayizah (Dabburiyah).
11. Taha 'Abd-al-Halim (Kafr Manda).
12. Samir Darwish (Baq'a el-Gharbiyah).
13. Hashim Mahamid (Umm al-Fahm).
14. 'Abd-al-Latif Habib (al-Tayyibah).
15. Tariq 'Abd-al-Hayy (al-Tirah).
16. Ahmad Abu 'Asbah (Jatt).

The meeting was attended by 38 out of 42 heads of Arab local authorities and the conferees debated the topics presented for discussion by Ibrahim Nimr Husayn and Ahmad Abu 'Asbah, topics which dealt with the work of the previous committee of chairmen, with the difficult financial conditions being experienced by the Arab local authorities, a draft resolution on the committee's future work and the recommendations of the seven-member committee which had prepared for this conference. The statements made touched on the demands presented by the Arab local authorities to the government authorities in the various ministries, demands including: Improving the budgets and structuring them on the basis of new principles that respond to the needs and requirements of the local authorities and that make up for the deficit in the budgets of these authorities.

The heads also discussed the conference's draft resolutions and presented numerous new proposals.

The discussion was summed up by Tawfiq Ziyad and Ibrahim Nimr Husayn. The conference also unanimously approved fundamental resolutions that are tantamount to a complete working document on whose basis the unity of the national ranks of all the people is achieved.

The conference also approved two resolutions concerning immediate action, namely:

1. Approval of the Ministry of Interior's request that [real estate] taxes be raised by 220-260 percent, i.e. raising taxes on homes from 40 shekels to 150 shekels per square meter.
2. Declaring a warning 2-hour strike from 0800-1000 on Thursday, 16 February 1984, if the government fails to approve the following two demands by the local authorities: Cover the deficit in the councils' budgets and change the basis on which the budgets of the Arab local and municipal councils are structured.

The conference also decided to consider attorney Muhammad Masariwah, chairman of the Kafr Qari' Council, the legal adviser to the Regional Committee of Heads of the Arab Local Authorities.

#### "Actual Political Resolutions"

On the following day, the success of the conference evoked broad and varied reactions in the popular and information circles. The Arab masses received with satisfaction and welcome the unanimous agreement of the heads of local authorities to cling to the unity of the ranks and to rally behind the Regional Committee and the conference's historic resolutions, despite all the clamor and the attempts at sowing sedition with which the Israeli information media had engaged for more than 3 months to portray the heads of the Arab local authorities as if they were divided in opinion.

The success of the conference and the collective spirit which dominated its activities and the consensus in its resolutions have evoked the anger of the Israeli authorities, motivating them to mobilize their information media to distort the conference's activities and to undermine the consensus over its resolutions.

On the following day (9 February), Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, chairman-elect of the Regional Committee, answered the attempts at distortion in a telephone interview with AL-ITTIHAD, issued in Yafa, saying: The resolutions document, and a number of additions proposed by the heads in their discussion, have been approved unanimously. He went on to add: The resolutions were no secret and were drafted by the seven-member committee which had prepared for the conference. As for the voting "procedure," it has followed the same pattern as in other times. We distributed the draft proposals and a discussion ensued. The discussion was confined to expressing additional observations. None of the heads objected to any provision or paragraph. Ultimately, the resolutions were adopted unanimously.

Regarding the attempt of some local heads to disavow these resolutions, Ibrahim Nimr Husayn has said: Those objecting now were either present or absent or have decided to back down.



On highlighting the political aspect in these resolutions, the Regional Committee chairman said: They are actual political resolutions that reflect our position and the conference has approved them. He added: Arab citizens expect us to clarify our political position by virtue of our being the highest authority representing the Arab masses in Israel. We assert that these resolutions represent the political position of the Arab masses.

On the 9th and 10th of this month, the Israeli information media and press highlighted the activities of the historic conference and Israeli television showed a recorded tape on the conference and an interview with Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, the Regional Committee chairman, on this conference.

The Hebrew-language Voice of Israel broadcast on the day following the conference, 9 February, a lengthy segment in the news program called Middy, highlighting the resolutions document issued by the conference, saying: "It is similar to the document prepared for the Arab masses conference for which preparations were made 3 years and which was scheduled to be convened in Nazareth but was banned by a military order from Begin "due to the sensitivity of the issue."

AL HAMISHMAR published on 9 February a lengthy report on the conference's resolution to declare a warning strike on the following week and on the demand of the conferees that the budgets of the Arab local councils be made equal to those of the Jewish local councils and that their deficit be covered.

The government-sponsored AL-ANBA', issued in Arabic, published a large number of the conference resolutions, including the strike resolution and the "demand of the Regional Committee that the Local Authorities Center and government officials re-acknowledge the Regional Committee of Heads as an elected legal representative of the local authorities."

The Voice of Israel broadcast in its direct transmission [program] an interview with Nimr Murqus, the Kafr Yasif Local Council chairman, and debated with him the approval of the conference document, based on what had been published in AL-ITTIHAD. The radio correspondent showed interest in the paragraph calling for "liquidation of the 1967 occupation and implementation of the Arab Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to establishing their independent state side-by-side with Israel under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative," wondering whether this paragraph was approved in the conference or whether "RAKAH is trying to exploit the conference." The correspondent cited in this regard a telephone conversation with Ahmad Ammun Asadi, the chairman of Dayr al-Asad Local Council, who had said that the "document was actually distributed and some conferees kept it in their pocket or tore it up" and that no vote was taken on this document!

Murqus answered that "it is important to publish the resolutions in their entirety so that the public may become familiarized with our hardship--the hardship of the Arab local authorities." Regarding the vote on the document, Murqus said, "The document was distributed to the heads of the local authorities and I was assigned to read it. However, my colleagues were content

to make their observations. After discussion, the document was approved unanimously." Murqus added: Never have we been compelled in the history of our action in the Regional Committee to take a vote by raising hands. This is how matters went insofar as approval of the warning strike scheduled for next week is concerned.

Hashim Mahamid, the chairman of Umm al-Fahm Local Council, said in a comment made to the correspondent of AL-ITTIHAD: The conference has been very successful and its resolutions have been adopted unanimously. Numerous topics dealing with the various issues facing the local councils and the Arab masses were raised and discussed at the conference. He further said that the demands of the local authorities can be summed up in the demand for abolishing the discrimination existing against us. He lauded the political resolutions taken by the conference, which is tantamount to the higher authority of the Arab masses, describing these resolutions as the political identity of the Arab masses in Israel. Regarding the political distortion attempts in the information media, Mahamid has said: It has been evident that there was no "partisan identity" in the conference; I personally don't know the political identity of all the participants. Regarding the resolutions, he said: Not a single vote objected to them or demanded their modification. The statement that the resolutions were not debated is a statement that arouses disapproval.

#### Conference Resolutions

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic No 497, 25 Feb 84 pp 29-30

[Text] Following is the text of the resolutions approved by the conference of the heads of the Arab local authorities in its historic meeting in Shefar'am on 8 February 1984:

First, the conference stresses that the Arab masses in Israel are an indivisible part of the Palestinian Arab people and they are eager to see these people achieve as soon as possible their legitimate rights that are acknowledged by international organizations. They are also eager to liquidate the state of occupation and homelessness from which these people suffer and to achieve a just peace that guarantees the security and rights of all the area's peoples and countries.

At the same time, the conference stresses that the Arab masses in Israel are a part of the state, sharing the common destiny in the homeland with the Jewish people's masses in Israel and suffering what these masses suffer as a result of the Israeli Government's domestic and foreign policy. The Arab masses in Israel are concerned with establishing relations between the two peoples on a basis of democracy, mutual respect, understanding, full equality and the joint interest of the two sides.

Second, the Arab masses in Israel live in their country as a legitimate right and not as a favor from anybody. Since the establishment of the state [of Israel], these masses have been facing an official policy founded on discrimination against them and on besieging them on an ethnic basis. This policy

has reached its apex recently with open racial practices and with the promulgation of a number of racist laws and of similar regulations and decrees, such as the "national insurance law" and the "Qassab Committee" decisions concerning the wages of university faculty members and other well-known rules and decrees.

The Arab local authorities which have been elected by these masses to serve and represent them suffer, as these masses suffer, from this policy of ethnic discrimination. They suffer especially from being deprived of budgets and development budgets equal to those of the Jewish local authorities and from being denied industrialization and development projects in the various spheres, as well as being denied the sources of financing for such projects.

Third, the conference therefore reaffirms all the previous documents and resolutions of the Regional Committee since its foundation and of the conferences of the Arab local authorities concerning the situation, aspirations and sentiments of the Arab masses, their issues and the demands made by their local authorities on the basis of the slogan of "equality, nothing less" behind which all the Arab local authorities and all our people in the country rally.

Fourth, the conference underlines its support for the legitimate struggle to achieve just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of liquidating the 1967 occupation and the basis of the Arab Palestinian people's legitimate right to determine their future and to establish their independent state side-by-side with the State of Israel under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The conference also denounces all forms of oppression by the occupation and calls for putting an end to them.

The conference also calls for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli army from all the territories occupied since 1967 and the occupied Lebanese territories.

The conference lauds all the Israeli peace forces working and struggling to achieve this sublime objective, reaffirms the joint interest in acting and cooperating with these forces and urges them to escalate and expand the struggle in the interest of the two peoples.

Fifth, the conference underlines:

A. Its support for all the forces struggling in the state to change the official policy in the interest of just peace, national equality, democracy and defending the rights of the popular masses and their standard of living.

B. Cooperation with the center of the local authorities in Israel to achieve full equality for the Arab local authorities, to unify the standard of the services for all the citizens on a basis of a basket of equal services and to find solutions to the stifling crisis from which the country's local authorities are suffering, especially to promulgate a law that ties all government debts and funds owed to the local authorities to an inflation list in order to preserve the real value of these debts and funds.

C. Unified, permanent and effective cooperation with the Arab organizations in the country that have objectives similar to ours.

D. Cooperation with the Knesset committees and members to exert efforts to abolish or amend the unfair laws, to abolish the racist laws and to promulgate a law that bans racism in all its manifestations.

E. The conference supports the efforts and objectives of every popular organization working for equality, against racism and for fraternal coexistence between the two peoples in Israel in the interest of both peoples, including the resolutions and objectives of the Nazareth conference, held on 28 January 1984, against racism.

Sixth, the conference urges all Arab heads and members of the local authorities to intensify the struggle for:

1. Establishing local councils in the Arab villages where no such councils exist.
2. Having the ordinary budgets of the Arab local authorities founded on the basis of these authorities' actual need and on a new basis that guarantees a services basket equal to those of the Jewish community, and equal also in the sources of financing and in the rate of jobs in comparison to population numbers, including especially the sphere of social welfare services (social affairs).
3. Obtaining convenient development budgets in which all the ministries (especially the service ministries) participate to guarantee the modern development of the Arab cities and villages and providing all the services available on the Jewish side in order to create a good living environment befitting the age.
4. Getting all the Arab cities and villages to participate in the programs to "develop the old quarters."
5. Completing the skeletal maps for all the Arab villages immediately and handing over to these villages the task of actual supervision over the construction regulation process by forming local regulation committees in each large village and in each group of small villages, as well as the task of licensing all the buildings existing in the Arab community.
6. Abolishing the confiscation and seizure of the lands of the Arab cities and villages and the decisions to strip away the lands of these cities and villages and expanding the jurisdiction of these cities and villages to include all the lands of their inhabitants and the neighboring state-owned lands so as to enable them to develop, plan for the future and offer the needed services.
7. Allocating government budgets sufficient to solve the explosive housing crisis in the Arab community, especially for newly-married couples, and including the Arab community in all the government housing projects, especially the project "build your own house."

The conference also urges the Histadrut to perform its duty in this regard by building house projects similar to the projects the Histadrut builds on the Jewish side.

8. Exerting efforts to industrialize the Arab cities, to secure the governmental financial aid needed for the purpose and to set aside enough land to establish industrial zones, as well as providing actual support for the local initiatives.

The conference also urges that efforts be exerted to have the Histadrut perform its duty in this regard by establishing industrial projects and Histadrut workshops similar to the ones it establishes on the Jewish side.

9. Releasing the Islamic Trust properties and real estate and handing them over to Islamic committees elected by the sons of the Islamic community so that these committees may manage them and utilize their revenues in developing the public utilities and services of the community's members.

10. The speedy implementation of the program agreed on with the Ministry of Education to make up for the existing shortage in school buildings during the timetable agreed upon, as well as exerting efforts to develop the curricula of the Arab schools so that they may be modern and technical in their content.

11. Supporting any faction done an injustice or needing the assistance of the Regional Committee and providing all assistance to such a faction. This includes supporting the struggle of the Arab population in the mixed cities to solve their housing, social and other problems on a basis of full equality.

Seventh, the conference declares its solidarity with the [demand of the] employees of the local authorities to have their wages raised and their working conditions improved.

Eighth, the Regional Committee:

1. The conference reaffirms its constant demand that the government and official authorities, the ministries, the local authorities center and all the organizations and institutions acknowledge officially and fully the Regional Committee as the representative and spokesman of the Arab local authorities.

The conference also demands that the representation of the Arab local authorities in the local authorities center be compatible with their number in comparison to the country's local authorities.

2. The conference expresses its deep appreciation for the Regional Committee of the just ended session and for its effort that has been characterized by unity, sincerity and persistence.

3. The conference urges all the Arab local authorities to rally behind the new Regional Committee, to cooperate with it, to facilitate its task and to

fully abide by its resolutions and positions. It also appeals to the local authorities in the Druze Arab villages to join this unity, considering that they face the same issues and problems faced by all the Arab local authorities.

4. The conference entrusts the Regional Committee to establish for itself a center and an apparatus to carry out its work and to help the Arab local authorities, to coordinate their efforts and to activate the followup committee formed recently with the participation of the Arab members of the Knesset.

8494

CSO: 4404/394



## TIES WITH PAKISTAN DESCRIBED

Muscat OMAN DAILY OBSERVER in English 22 Mar 84 p 9

[Text]

In the political domain both Pakistan and Oman are striving hard for unity amongst all the Islamic countries. They also enjoy identity of views and commonalty of interest on many important international and regional issues.

The existing relations between Pakistan and Oman are characterised by mutual respect and understanding. Both countries have religious, cultural and ethnic ties.

Oman is Pakistan's closest Arab neighbour. In fact it is quicker to fly to Muscat from Karachi than to Islamabad. Thus, the geographical proximity has also contributed to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

The Governments of the two countries are keen and committed to promote bilateral co-operation in all the vital fields of life and have taken measures to achieve this objective.

In the political domain both Pakistan and Oman are striving hard for unity amongst all the Islamic countries. They also enjoy identity of views and commonalty of interest on many important international and regional issues which indeed reflects the deep affinity that has traditionally existed between the peoples of the two fraternal States.

At all international forums Pakistan and Oman co-operate with each other and have made positive contribution to the cause of peace and prosperity for the entire mankind. They have also worked very closely to ensure the emergence of a just international economic order that would help in mitigating the problems and sufferings of the developing nations.

Pakistan and Oman support the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Both adhere to the policy of non-alignment which they consider in the best interest of peace and stability. Both are opposed to any foreign intervention in the Gulf region and firmly believe that the security of the Gulf States was a matter of concern exclusively for the States in the region.

On the question of Afghanistan the Sultanate of Oman has persistently adopted a forthright stand and has called for a comprehensive political settlement of this problem on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homeland.

As a manifestation of expanding relations in the political and economic spheres a number of high-level exchanges have taken place between the two countries which have not only contributed to better understanding of each

others point of view but has opened ways to promote co-operation between them in various fields of life.

A recent and outstanding visit was the one undertaken by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan, to Oman.

During this visit Pakistan and Oman agreed to conclude an agreement on economic, trade and technical co-operation including the establishment of a Joint Ministerial Commission as also an agreement on Cultural and Educational Co-operation.

It is hoped that these agreements will help to expand further the existing substantial exchanges and co-operation in the economic and cultural fields.

Closer co-operation between Pakistan and Oman in the field of Information is also being pursued

and necessary measures to enhance the same further are in the offing.

A sizable Pakistani community is working in the Sultanate of Oman. The community is making its modest contribution to the development of a fraternal country.

This fact is generously acknowledged by the Government and people of Oman. For its part, the Government and the people of Oman have always treated the Pakistani community in the Sultanate with respect and affection.

The grant of huge plots of land for the construction of Pakistan School Complexes in Muscat and Salalah bear ample testimony to the close and deep relationship between Pakistan and Oman.

It is earnestly hoped that by the passage of time the bonds of fraternity between the peoples of these two countries will be cemented further.

CSO: 4400/217

## PETROLEUM DRILLING STEPPED UP

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 29 Mar 84 p 56

[Text]

**Amoco Oman Petroleum Company and Amoco Oman Oil Company** — both subsidiaries of the sixth largest industrial concern in the United States are continuing their operations in Oman with great confidence.

The first Amoco Oman Company holds a 100 per cent interest in a 48,900 square kilometre onshore area in North Eastern Oman awarded by the Sultanate in 1981. The first well, Mamurah No. 1, was spudded in August 1983. Additional drilling is planned for 1984 and the company must drill a total of five wells by May, 1986, in fulfilment of its contractual obligations.

The company's exploration lease could be extended up to May, 1988, if two additional wells are drilled. Relinquishments according to the agreement are scheduled at 25 per cent of the original area by May 1986, 50 per cent by 1988 and 75 per cent by May, 1996.

An approximate amount of US\$ 39 million has so far been spent by the company on geological and geophysical surveys and exploration works, with a

further forecast expenditure of nearly US\$ 27 million to be made on the same during the current year.

The second subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (Indiana) — The Amoco Oman Oil Company — holds 85.4 per cent interest in a 21,260 square kilometre offshore concession in Southeast Oman. The remaining percentages are held by three West German companies: Wintershall A.G. Deutsche Schachtbau and von Rautenkranz. The group is currently drilling a well in Masirah Bay, which is expected to be finished in May. The whole concession has to be relinquished if no discoveries on commercial scale are made by May next year. With the present Masirah Bay well, a total of five wells have been drilled in the agreement area. Expenditure on geological and geophysical work and exploratory wells by Amoco and its partners, including estimates for the current year, amount to almost 31 million U.S. dollars.

Amoco is still looking for its first oil and gas finds with confidence and is planning more drilling. The Sajaa Field, a major gas - condensate discovery by Amoco Sharjah, has sparked the company's interest in the Oman Mountain's overthrust zone, which is part of its onshore agreement area.

CSO: 4400/217

## FISCAL POLICY PRAISED

Muscat OMAN DAILY OBSERVER in English 21 Mar 84 p 9

[Text]

**OMAN has fully settled all financial obligations towards foreign creditors relating to last year, and has earned an international reputation in honouring debts promptly.**

About OR50 million has been allotted this year for the repayment of loans as against OR35 million last year, the Under-Secretary of Finance, Mohammed Moosa, told "Al Markazi", a monthly published by the Central Bank of Oman.

Highlighting the main features of this year's budget, Mr Moosa said, according to the latest edition of the magazine, the total estimated income this year is OR1,561 million as against OR1,443 million last year.

Expenditure this year is estimated at OR1,765 compared to OR1,650 last year without any considerable increase in the deficit compared to last year.

Mr Moosa said that there was a decline in estimated oil revenue — from OR1,181 million

last year to OR1,100 million this year. The setback has been attributed to the fall in oil prices. But the deficit has been narrowed by tapping other sources and by increasing petroleum production from 320,000 barrels per day last year to 392,000 barrels per day this year, "Al Markazi" quoted Mr Moosa as saying.

The Government has stepped up economic diversification programme and a 30 per cent growth in non-oil revenue is expected this year.

The Council for Financial Affairs continuously monitor the trend of actual spending and will draw necessary guidelines, Mr Moosa added.

Non-oil revenue this year is valued at OR169 million as against OR130 million last year, according to the statistics published by "Al Markazi".

A significant growth in the income from Ministry of Electricity and Water is predicted — from OR31 million last year to OR41 million this year, and a similar sizeable increase is foreseen in the revenue from the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals, from OR18 million last year to OR34 million.

'ARAFAT ON PLO'S POLITICAL, MILITARY FUTURE

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Yassir 'Arafat by Lorenzo Argenti: "'Arafat: 'We Have Sustained Grievous Losses, But we Are Reorganizing the Palestinian Forces'"]

[Text] Tunis, 18 March--It is 10:30 pm on a calm March evening, one of many here at Hamman Plage, about 30 kilometers south of Tunis, where we are writing this report. In a small country house, surrounded by a wall about 5 meters high, lighted day and night by powerful searchlights, a short while ago we got through an exclusive interview with Yassir 'Arafat in the PLO's new headquarters. The guards on duty were equipped with modern, U.S.-made automatic weapons. We were met by Mohammed Abdel Munhem, 'Arafat's press secretary. Following the usual introductory formalities, we were led into the office of the Palestinian leader, who greeted us with cordiality. He wore the ever-present olive Arab trousers, a sweater and an unbuttoned shirt of the same color. Missing was the characteristic keffiyeh, whose absence gave the leader a different aspect compared to his usual official presence. After introducing us to the senior members of the Executive Committee, called in by him to assist in the meeting, 'Arafat invited us to sit down. At that point the interview began.

[Question] Mr. 'Arafat, how do you view the latest events of Tripoli and what were, according to you, the losses and gains the PLO has extracted from this experience?

[Answer] The situation resulting from Tripoli is of enormous gravity, as our forces were besieged on two fronts, Arabs on one side and Israelis on the other. In the battle for Beirut, if nothing else, we only faced the Israeli forces. What took place in Tripoli is in part the result of an international plot whose aim is the liquidation of the PLO, in order to interdict its participation in any peace accord. Though well planned by the various powers, the plot was a total failure. Without a doubt, we have suffered a very serious military defeat, but from a political point of view, we came out victorious. We were able to strengthen our position and the leadership of the Palestinian question as well, with all that entails. In order to defend our identity, we have fought bravely for a year and a half during which we had to face various factions. It was not easy for my armed forces which, beginning with the invasion of Beirut by Israel until our departure from Tripoli, have demonstrated a praiseworthy ability to safeguard the right to freedom of the Palestinian people.

During this period, an event of major importance for the PLO took place in all the occupied territories. It involves a referendum organized by our people presently under Israeli occupation. The results indicated the most complete support and the most complete faith in our organization, entrusting it with the leadership of the Palestinian people as its sole and legitimate representative.

[Question] In what manner do you feel the PLO may have strengthened its diplomatic position following the recent Islamic Conference held at Casablanca?

[Answer] The results emanating from the conference were very important for us inasmuch as they demonstrated the utter failure of all the plots engineering against us. These plots all had the goal of eliminating the PLO. The delegates, even those from remote Islamic countries, elected me as permanent vice president, a position that had not existed prior to now. Secondly, our delegation, as a participant at the conference, was one of several to engender the reentry of Egypt to the family of Islamic countries. This is another example of the active role the PLO is involved in at the diplomatic level.

[Question] How do you characterize the PLO's military forces following the events of Tripoli: Are they divided, in exile, or simply removed from the theater of combat?

[Answer] We successfully reorganized our army, which deployed to various military bases in Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, North Yemen and South Yemen. With regard to Lebanon, I wish to underline that despite numerous attempts to expel our forces from that country, not only are we still there, but we actually have managed to infiltrate behind Israeli military lines, where we are tasked with carrying on a war of attrition together with our Lebanese allies against the Israeli Army.

[Question] How might you describe the present-day relationship between the PLO, Jordan, Syria and Egypt?

[Answer] I have had some very productive meetings with King Hussein of Jordan, with his prime minister and other representatives of the Jordanian Government. Following these meetings, and based on a decision taken by the Central Committee and by the Executive Committee of the PLO, we have adopted a joint strategy with the Hashemite ruler aimed at attaining a solution to the Palestinian question. I have given my total support to this initiative.

With regard to our relations with Syria, I should point out that despite our having suffered a great deal due to the behavior of the Syrian Government and particularly during the recent battles against the troops of Syrian President Assad in Tripoli, Baalbeck and in the Bekaa Valley, we are willing to reopen a dialogue with Damascus, a dialogue based on mutual respect and loyalty.

Recalling my visit to Egypt, I was deeply moved by the warm welcome the Egyptian people gave me; this in turn, showed me once again how extensive the support for the Palestinian cause is in this country. President Mubarak, during his recent meetings at the White House, expressed his opinions in favor of the



PLO as sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and has pressured the United States to give the Palestinian question its proper stature when dealing with future Middle East negotiation plans. I hope Egypt will be able to once again establish its links with the whole Arab world. It is our desire to further strengthen our relationship with Cairo.

[Question] Are there any internal disagreements within the Al Fatah? How does one explain the absence of PLO Foreign Minister Farouk Khadoumi and of Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad, PLO's number 2 man - ed.) from the delegation that recently visited Amman?

In answering the question, the Palestinian leader hesitated for an instant, then said:

[Answer] When I visited Jordan, both Khadoumi and Khalaf were in the hospital, undergoing medical treatment. Nevertheless, I would like to underline that there are no divergencies within our organization. I would like to add that not including Khalaf and Khadoumi was a joint decision taken by our Central Committee as well as the Executive Committee.

[Question] How would you define the present Lebanese crisis and what could its impact be on the future of the Middle East?

Raising his voice, the PLO chief answered thusly:

[Answer] With the invasion of Beirut in the summer of 1982, Israel set off a "volcanic explosion." By "volcanic explosion" I mean a chain of events as well as a strengthening of Arab extremism. Despite the moderate stance adopted by major Arab representatives, and which up until now has given meager results, it was not even possible to stop the invasion of Lebanon by Hebrew troops. The consequences of such an invasion will surely reflect in a negative manner on the Middle East checkerboard. They could conceivably even bring about political overturnings in many Arab capitals, allowing the exponents of extremism to take over. I would like to underline that then no one will be able to stop the flow of volcanic lava that surely one day will reach the shores of the White House. The battle for Beirut, which lasted for 88 days, and which resulted in a high number of casualties for the Israelis, together with the war of attrition carried out successfully by us, were the main reasons behind Begin's resignation. Unfortunately the Lebanese people are still suffering the painful consequences of the invasion aided by the U.S. administration, which not only supplied arms but men as well. Today, where are the U.S. Marines? They received the order to pull out and I sincerely hope that from the defeat they suffered in Lebanon, Washington may learn to discover what is the reality of events tied to the Middle East. There will be neither peace nor a solution to the Middle East crisis without Palestinian participation: Our legitimate rights are at the very core of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

At this point I wish to express my regret over the fact that some Arab governments came out in favor of the plot ordered by Israel with Washington's full consent calling for the partition of Lebanon into confessional departments. This concept is totally alien to the Arab world today. In my opinion, such a

solution would be a veritable cataclysm. During our stay in Lebanon, we fought to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of the country in order to bring to a halt the cancerous sectarianism that tends to infest the whole of the Arab world.

[Question] Which is the most just and lasting solution the PLO might in reality, not just theoretically, find most acceptable in order to solve the Middle East crisis?

[Answer] There exists a veritable international conspiracy which aims at Balkanizing the question. Kissinger has confirmed this on several occasions both in public and in private. We consider this extremely grave. In fact, those who do not want peace and those who aim at the permanent destabilization of our area are redesigning the geopolitical map of the Middle East.

With regard to the Palestinian question, it will simply have to be resolved; after all, we do not chase castles in the sky. All we want is the right of self-determination. This right can be achieved through various means, among which are a resolution of the United Nations, or of the General Assembly or of the Security Council or a conference at the international level. In this regard, a General Assembly decision, taken last December, approved the request by the Geneva International Conference on Palestine. The conference, which met last August, called for an international conference with the aim of promoting and concretizing the UN resolution on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Such a resolution was supported by 124 countries but unfortunately the United States voted against it. Finally, the Geneva International Conference met again under the auspices of the two superpowers (US and USSR) toward the end of the 1970's. In case any of these proposals fail to be adopted, the extremism I made reference to earlier will continue to advance and no one will be able to stop it.

[Question] Do you feel the present policy adopted by Israel in the Mid East theater could one day backfire on Israel itself?

[Answer] The policy adopted by Tel Aviv will not only come back to haunt Israel but also its U.S. allies. The price the West will have to pay for the state of affairs which it brought about will be very high. The arrogance shown by Israeli leaders is without precedent: this pack of scoundrels is more than just spoiled. In the past many countries have adopted a similar policy and unfortunately, despite the many examples and historical figures such as Attila and Hitler, who demonstrated that it is impossible to maintain conquered lands by force, there are still some industrialized countries in the West that insist on maintaining their position that denies the validity of any historical thesis.

[Question] Do you feel the Soviet Union will have an important role in any future peace negotiation for the Middle East? How would you define the role played by the superpowers at this time in this area?

[Answer] There are two superpowers in the world whose presence is irrefutable. Was the United States able to exclude Moscow from the Lebanese crisis? This is my answer. Let us recall the veto cast recently by Moscow of the UN Security Council on the French proposal to send in the [UN] Blue Berets in place of the Multinational Force. A unanimous vote was needed by all parties concerned in order for the motion to be approved. The same goes for the removal of naval units of the U.S. Sixth Fleet from Lebanese waters. At the present time many countries in this area are engaged in conflict. These events are provoked by the superpowers by way of their surrogates. One day it will come to pass that they will not be able to contain the conflicts within our borders. How can one deny the presence of one or the other of the superpowers in the Middle East when Pershing, cruise and SS-20 missiles exist in the world? I am convinced that Western Europe is fully aware of such a reality. I therefore request that the countries of the Old World take up their responsibilities and exert their influence on Washington and Moscow so as to have them reach an understanding of the Middle East crisis before it is too late.

[Question] How do you view the disavowal of the 17 May accord between Beirut and Tel Aviv by Lebanese President Gemayel?

[Answer] From the very beginning we were against such an accord which however the Lebanese president was forced to sign under threat of Israeli tanks at the doors of Beirut, aided by the U.S. administration. I believe that the abrogation of the treaty may reduce tensions only temporarily because parts of Lebanese territory are still under occupation by various foreign armies and only at such time when these forces are removed will Lebanon reap full diplomatic benefits from this initiative. The outcome of the conciliation talks in Lausanne will be very relevant. Nevertheless, I believe that President Gemayel's action took place with the Reagan administration's full consent.

[Question] As PLO president, what is your opinion on the role of Italy in the Multinational Forces in Lebanon?

[Answer] I wish to thank Italy for having concretely offered its protection to our camps during our absence. Aware as I am of the sympathy the Italian people have shown toward our legitimate cause and which I hope will continue to do so, I would like to express all our appreciation and gratitude: The Palestinian people will never forget the high level of humanitarian behavior which distinguished your contingent from the others. I also wish to underscore our sincere admiration for your soldiers, for their sense of discipline and responsibility fully in evidence during the sensitive mission assigned to them. I would like to say a word to all those who have lost dear ones on Lebanese territory: I fully understand their grief, in which I share with infinite sincerity.

I would like to conclude that I am in total agreement with the decision of the Italian Government regarding the withdrawal of its troops: It was a decision which, for Italy's best interests, I consider the most appropriate.

9202

CSO: 3528/70

## SAUDI ARMS DEALS WITH EUROPEAN NATIONS DISCUSSED

### Recent Arms Purchase Developments

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 210, 18-24 Feb 84 p 18

[Article by Khalid Muhammad (Batarfi): "A Deal with France and an Open Offer by the British: The Saudis Knock on the Door Only One Time"]

[Text] Five years ago Saudi Arabia and France initiated their program of military cooperation to develop and manufacture arms. The Saudis participated in this program by means of providing huge sums of money in order to cover the costs of the studies involved, and a number of Saudi experts and scientists specializing in engineering analysis systems, guided missile systems, industrial technology, laser technology, and electronics also participated in this program. This cooperation recently resulted in the creation of some very advanced air defense systems. According to the provisions of the agreement between the two nations, Saudi Arabia has the right to be the first nation to utilize these weapons--even before the armed forces of France itself. Furthermore, no other nation has the right to acquire these weapons without the approval of Saudi Arabia.

This information was recently revealed on the occasion of the signing of the largest arms purchase agreement which has taken place in the world during the last 10 years. The total value of the arms deal between France and Saudi Arabia was \$4 billion. This constitutes the cost of the air defense armament project known as "the Penetrator" [al-thaqib]. Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the Saudi minister of defense, announced at a press conference which he held during the annual firing exercises of the Saudi air defense forces that three air defense systems are being currently utilized. These three systems are the (Ornicor) antiaircraft artillery guns, the French Crotale [surface-to-air] missiles, and the improved Hawk [surface-to-air missiles]. During the next few months the Crotale system will be replaced by the Shahin system, and the air space and territory of Saudi Arabia, from an altitude of 30 feet to an altitude of 70,000 feet, will be fully protected.

However, this has not been the only Saudi military development which has taken place lately. During the same week there were developments concerning the issue of the Saudi-German arms deal which the Israeli government attempted to persuade Chancellor Kohl not to agree to during his recent visit to Tel Aviv.

During a press conference which he held in Tel Aviv before the end of his visit to Israel, Chancellor Kohl said that the interests of West Germany are determined in Bonn rather than in Tel Aviv. Prince Sultan gave the following reply to a question often asked by members of the press concerning the Zionist outcry concerning this deal and whether or not he expected the West German government to give in to Israeli pressure concerning this matter: "It is up to Germany itself to decide this matter. Saudi Arabia is free to purchase arms from any country which it wishes to, and we assume that West Germany is also free to do what it wishes to. As long as West Germany can economically profit from this deal, then it should act in accordance with its own interests and not feel bound by the opinions of Israel or any other nation when it comes to matters concerning its own interests."

The whole issue came to a head the week before last when a responsible Saudi source gave his reply to what Chancellor Kohl's spokesman had announced via the West German media concerning the Saudi-German arms deal. This spokesman had said that Germany would take into consideration the point of view of Israel which was expressed to Chancellor Kohl, during his visit to Jerusalem, concerning this deal, that the issue of Israel's security would be an important consideration during the negotiations with Saudi Arabia, and that the German defense systems which would be sold to Saudi Arabia would not be used against Israel. This Saudi source gave a strongly-worded reply in which he said that the "idle talk" and "babbling" which the West German government, parties, and media had engaged in concerning this issue was something which was not justified. He went on to say: "We have unfortunately been aware of the conflicting statements and announcements which have been coming out of the West German capital concerning this topic which people working in the informational media have become fed up with. It is the matter of the sale of German arms to Saudi Arabia. There is no doubt that the leaders in Bonn know full well that Saudi Arabia has allowed the German government complete freedom of choice when it comes to supplying and selling German weapons to Saudi Arabia, and Saudi Arabia has the right to choose what it needs and to reject what it does not need. Furthermore, the West German government also realizes that the German arms which Saudi Arabia wants will be no gift. In fact, these arms will be costing Saudi Arabia billions of dollars. The West German government also knows that all of the world markets are open to Saudi Arabia and that Saudi Arabia can purchase whatever it wants from any nation. Therefore, Saudi Arabia rejects the imposition of any conditions or restrictions which would prevent it from exercising its legitimate rights to defend itself and its territory."

#### Repercussions of the Declarations

This Saudi source continued, saying: "We used to hear such declarations in the past, but due to moral and political considerations we did not pay any attention to them. But since statements such as these were said yesterday by Chancellor Kohl himself, it has become necessary for us to both openly and carefully clarify our position concerning this matter. The Saudi government is afraid that the repercussions of these statements will affect economic and commercial transactions which are going on between the two nations, and



this is something which is not in the mutual interest of the two nations. Numerous German firms have commercial relations either directly with the Saudi government or with Saudi companies and corporations." This source concluded his statement with the following words: "We are not saying this in order to provoke anyone or to infringe upon anyone's rights. Every nation has the right to choose whatever policy it considers to be in line with its interests and with its economic needs."

As we know, a large number of big German firms during the last few years have become involved with the Saudi government and the private sector by means of huge contracts. This is particularly the case in the areas of airport construction and large-scale developmental industrial projects such as the projects involving the construction of the industrial complexes in al-Jubayl and Yanbu'. Furthermore, the Saudi market is considered to be the largest market in the Middle East and it is also one of the largest international markets which German factories and plants depend upon as an outlet for the products which they produce. There is no doubt that the German economy, which is suffering from numerous problems, has benefited enormously from the hard currency which it has received due to the fact that the German private sector has participated in Saudi Arabia's 5-year development plan projects. We should also point out that Saudi Arabia's position has always been a positive one regarding the West German government. In this regard one should mention the huge loan which the Saudi government provided to Germany a few years ago--at a time when the German economy was suffering from serious crises. This loan was the only thing that saved the German economy. Nevertheless, the Saudi government did not exploit this loan in a political manner or in the media, and the Saudi government did not attempt to demand a price or impose conditions which would have encroached upon the dignity and sovereignty of the West German government.

The third military development was the visit to Saudi Arabia by the British minister of defense less than a week after the announcement was made concerning the French deal and after the statements made by Prince Sultan concerning the deal with West Germany. This visit was important because of its timing and because of the fact that its objectives had been clearly announced. These objectives boiled down to the fact that Britain offered to sell to Saudi Arabia all of the advanced weapons which it has. These weapons include the Challenger tanks which are similar to the West German Leopard tanks which Saudi Arabia has been endeavoring to purchase. Prince Sultan's reply to this offer was to refer the matter to the proper authorities to be studied and for an opinion to be rendered after such matters have been assessed in light of the plan for the development of the Saudi armed forces.

The fourth relevant development which occurred during this same period of time was the announcement about the fact that a study is being undertaken by civilian and military technical committees which are examining and researching the possibility of establishing a weapons industry for the Gulf nations within the framework of the GCC. When this study has been completed, it will be presented to future meetings of the ministers of defense and chiefs of staff in the Gulf nations.



In addition to this, Prince Sultan has mentioned the fact that France has no objection to having some of its advanced weapons produced [by Saudi Arabia and the Gulf nations]--especially those which fall within the framework of the Saudi-French program of cooperation in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf nations.

#### Knocking on the Doors

The logical explanation for these developments is the following: Saudi Arabia is no longer a nation which requests or has an urgent need to purchase this or that weapon from this or that nation. In light of the difficult economic circumstances being experienced by most of the arms-exporting nations, in view of the trust which Saudi Arabia enjoys, and due to Saudi Arabia's ability to purchase arms from any source and with no strings attached--in line with Saudi Arabia's policy of diversifying its sources of arms--Saudi Arabia has become a nation which all the world's sources of the most modern weapons are competing to sell arms to. Saudi Arabia now is able to study the offers which are being made to it, is able to select what it wishes to have, is able to reject what it does not want, and is able to purchase what it does want--without allowing itself to be subjected to the imposition of any conditions which would encroach upon its freedom and independence. In fact, a nation which is considered to be one of the most advanced nations of the world in terms of its weapons technology and in the field of weapons production has agreed to have Saudi Arabia, a developing nation, as its partner in its research involving the development of certain weapons systems and has committed itself not to sell the weapons resulting from this research to any other nation unless its partner, Saudi Arabia, agrees to this. Furthermore, [France] has said that it has no objections to having French weapons plants be set up in Saudi Arabia.

There is nothing new about the fact that the world's weapons-manufacturing nations are eager to sell their wares to the Saudi army. However, recently it was necessary to state this fact publicly in order to remind these nations, as well as the informational media and opposition parties there, that they should be aware of the fact that these nations themselves would be the only losers if they refused to sell weapons to Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is perfectly capable of purchasing the most advanced and sophisticated weapons from any place and from any country in the world. This being true, Saudi Arabia does not need to go around knocking on doors. And if Saudi Arabia does knock on a particular door, it does so only one time.

#### Air Defense System Purchased

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 212, 3-9 Mar 84 pp 24-25

[Article by Jamal al-Rawi: "Saudi Arabia Chooses the French System After It Was Subjected to Numerous Tests: Saudi Arabia's Air Defense Is Strengthened by the Presence of the 'Shahin'"]

[Text] On 11 January of this year Prince Sultan, the Saudi minister of defense, and Charles Hernu, the French minister of defense, signed an arms deal of historic importance called the "Penetrator" arms deal. The total

value of this arms deal is 35 billion French francs (about \$4 billion), and it is the largest arms deal that France has ever concluded. In 1975 Saudi Arabia had already concluded another arms deal with France, and the total value of that arms deal was 14 billion French francs. A number of French and other European observers have called the Penetrator arms deal the "deal of the century," because no other bilateral arms deal between two nations has ever had a total value as high as this one.

The Penetrator arms deal represents the culmination of the good relations which have existed between Paris and Riyadh. These relations became even firmer after President François Mitterrand came to power. When President Mitterrand was inaugurated, the late King Khalid was one of the first heads of state to visit Paris, and Saudi Arabia was the first country which President Mitterrand made an official visit to.

Saudi-French relations, during the last 3 years, have become strengthened in the various political, diplomatic, and economic spheres. King Fahd and President Mitterrand have met a number of times, and the last time they met was during a visit which King Fahd made to Paris on the fourth day of last month. During the course of these years Riyadh has repeatedly expressed its approval and appreciation of France's policy in the Middle East--especially such things as the French position with regard to the Palestine question, France's effective support for Iraq during its war with Iran, and France's continual efforts to create a solution for the crisis in Lebanon. This mutual understanding has been reflected in the diplomatic coordination which exists between the two nations as well as the financial help which Saudi Arabia has given to France to help it successfully emerge from its economic crisis.

In such an atmosphere of mutual trust, it was only natural that military cooperation would increase between Saudi Arabia and France, especially since personal relations between the Saudi and French ministers of defense are so good. This cooperation is totally in accord with one of the basic principles of Saudi defense policy which Saudi leaders have publicly stated many times. This principle is that of a desire to diversify Saudi Arabia's sources of arms in order that Saudi Arabia continue to pursue a totally independent foreign and defense policy.

In addition to this, during the last 10 years Saudi Arabia has concluded four other large-scale arms deals with France. By means of these arms deals, Saudi Arabia has purchased a significant portion of the equipment and materiel used by its armed forces, particularly the air defense forces. So far Saudi Arabia has received from France the Shahin-1 air defense system, 20mm double antiaircraft cannons (which are mounted on the bodies of AMX-30 armored vehicles and the purpose of which is to defend armored units from air attacks), and the Crotale system (for defending sensitive locations and bases in Saudi Arabia). Also, Saudi Arabia will be receiving the first naval vessel of the "Safari" type which will be equipped with the antimissile Crotale naval defense system. This system is capable of dealing with air attacks even at the altitude of contact with the water. Air attacks at this altitude, as we know, are the most dangerous ones that can be waged against naval forces from

the air. This naval vessel will be received this year, and it is part of the 14 billion-French-franc deal which Saudi Arabia concluded with France in 1980. It amounts to a 10-year naval cooperation program during which Saudi Arabia will be provided with 4 naval vessels of the Safari type (each one weighing 2,000 tons), 2 oil-supply naval vessels (each of which is capable of carrying 10,000 tons), and 24 transportable patrol boats capable of firing AS-15 air-to-surface missiles.

In order to properly understand the new Penetrator deal, one must go back to the year 1974. It was in that year that Saudi Arabia asked the two French firms Thomson and Matra to work on the development of the Crotale air defense missile system. At that time Saudi Arabia specified that it wanted the best and technologically most modern air defense system in the world. The process of studying and testing the new system, under the supervision of the Saudi authorities, continued until the year 1980 when Saudi Arabia received its first shipments of these missiles which were made especially for Saudi Arabia and which were designated the "Shahin" missiles.

The deal concluded recently involves supplying Saudi Arabia with new units of the Shahin system and also involves the formation of a complete infrastructure for maintenance and logistic support--and this is something which will require large-scale construction operations. Furthermore, it will be necessary to purchase large quantities of spare parts and missiles to be held in reserve (in order to deal with the possibility of the occurrence of a long-term war). In addition to this, it will involve practical and technical training for about 1,000 officers and specialists in Saudi Arabia, and these training operations will require the utilization of a lot of special equipment. The purpose of such training will be to simulate circumstances as close as possible to those of actual warfare. This training in Saudi Arabia will be supplemented by training courses in French schools and training centers for the Saudi military and technical personnel who will be assigned to this field and will specialize in it.

The French firm Thomson-CSF will undertake to coordinate all aspects of the operation involved in this deal, and a large number of French firms specializing in the fields of electronics, [the manufacture of] missiles, [the manufacture of] armored vehicles, energy, training, and engineering (especially the firms Thomson-CSF, Brandt, Matra, Giat, and Cofras) will participate in the implementation of this whole operation. The U.S. firm Litton will also participate in this project in order to assure coordination between it and the overall air defense system in Saudi Arabia which is of U.S. manufacture.

#### Two Different Models

The most important pieces of equipment which Saudi Arabia will be purchasing in this deal are two different models of the Shahin system. The first system is mounted on the body of the AMX-30 armored vehicle, and this provides it with the capability of being able to move together with the armed forces as they move around and are deployed in the field of battle. The second system

is mounted on towed vehicles, and the purpose of the second system is to defend stationary strategic structures and bases in Saudi Arabia.

The Shahin systems which Saudi Arabia will be receiving in accordance with this deal contain numerous technical improvements when compared with the Shahin systems currently used in Saudi Arabia. It is for this reason that the military experts have labelled the new system the "Shahin-2" system.

This system was developed with the aid of the Saudi armed forces. Important technical modifications were introduced in it which provide it with greater effectiveness when dealing with air attacks which utilize new electronic weapons (such as antiradar missiles and electronic weapons to be utilized against air defense bases). It was necessary to introduce these improvements because, during the past few years, electronic offensive weapons have undergone tremendous technical development.

The Shahin-2 system will be integrated into Saudi Arabia's overall air defense system which includes airborne radar apparatuses capable of monitoring a very large range of circular territory (the AWACS planes), medium-range missiles, Crotale and Shahin-1 missile systems, and 30mm antiaircraft artillery batteries.

About the Shahin

What is the Shahin system?

The Shahin system is an air defense system which is for utilization at both low and very low altitudes (from ground level up to an altitude of 10 kilometers). It can be installed on either mobile armored vehicles or towed vehicles, and it represents a further development of the French Crotale system which Saudi Arabia already possesses.

The Shahin system is composed of a control unit which consists of radar mounted on an armored vehicle which undertakes the job of seeking out enemy targets, identifying them, and assessing their degree of danger within a range of 20 kilometers. The unit controls 4 firing units, each of which holds 6 missiles. In other words, each control unit controls 24 missiles.

This central unit is capable of monitoring 40 targets at any given time and of dealing with 18 such targets simultaneously.

In addition to its technical acumen, this system is also noted for its speed of reaction. When the control unit registers the presence of an enemy target within the range which it is capable of monitoring and determines that the target is a dangerous one, the firing of the missiles from the firing units takes place within less than 6 seconds. Also, it has been shown that this system's accuracy in hitting targets is 100 percent if the information registered by the control unit is correct.

The purpose of this air defense system is to protect important buildings, installations, and locations as well as military armored units from surprise

air attacks made at low or very low altitudes. These altitudes are the ones at which modern aircraft make their attacks because they want to evade detection by large radar apparatuses. It goes without saying that this system, no matter how effective it might be, can only acquire its full degree of importance and be utilized to its fullest extent when it is integrated into the framework of an overall defense policy which includes the utilization of other air defense apparatuses--and this is precisely the situation in Saudi Arabia. The Shahin system will not be utilized to protect all of Saudi Arabia's air space. It will only be utilized to protect certain sensitive areas in Saudi territory.

Why does Saudi Arabia require this advanced air defense system?

The reason is that, in modern warfare, air defense plays a basic role, and if there is no air defense, this means that enemy aircraft could paralyze the mobility of the Saudi army. No matter how advanced Saudi airplanes might be (and Saudi Arabia currently has F-5 and F-15 airplanes, which are considered to be among the best in the world), these airplanes will not be able to even take off from their airports if these airports are not protected by air defense systems. The same thing is true with regard to the armored combat forces and the infantry. These combat forces will not be able to move from place to place without this protection, especially since the nature of the terrain in Saudi Arabia makes ground forces a very vulnerable target for enemy airplanes attacking from very low altitudes. In addition to this, the Saudi navy would not be able to perform its missions in the strategically important waters in the region unless its ports have air defense. Furthermore, strategic areas in Saudi Arabia--especially the oil fields--constitute a sensitive target which must be protected by all possible means of defense.

At the present time the Shahin system is considered to be the best and most modern system in the world in the area of air defense. It possesses a number of unique characteristics which are not found in any other air defense system. The first of these outstanding features is its geographical range. It is capable of destroying any enemy attacking aircraft at either a low or very low altitude within a range of 10 kilometers.

The second outstanding feature of this system is its technical acumen. It is capable of selecting, from among the attacking enemy airplanes, those planes which it considers to be the most dangerous as far as the target which it is protecting is concerned. When carrying out this process it utilizes very complicated calculations which its apparatuses compute in only fractions of a second, and these apparatuses take into consideration the distance of each airplane from the target, its angle of flight in relation to the surface of the ground, the direction from which it is coming, its speed, and where the airplanes are located in relation to each other. It is on the basis of all this that this system can simultaneously fire missiles at more than one target.

The third of these unique characteristics is the system's mobility. The first model of the system can be mounted on the bodies of AMX-30 armored vehicles. This permits the system to be moved together and deployed with the armed



forces all over Saudi Arabia and guarantees that these forces will always have air defense protection--in order to prevent these forces from being selected and hit by the enemy. The second model can be mounted on towed vehicles, and therefore they can be easily transported from one end of Saudi Arabia to another on C-130 transport planes. This is something which would allow Saudi Arabia to transport part of its air defense capability to another area much more quickly than armored vehicles could do this task, and this might be necessary in order to deal with an emergency at one of the country's border areas, to provide new air defense protection for locations which have been already hit, or to provide additional air defense protection for locations coming under heavy attack.

It was for all of the reasons listed above that Saudi Arabia selected the French system after having subjected it to grueling tests. According to this new deal's contract, Saudi Arabia is purchasing 12 Shahin-2 units to supplement the 4 Shahin-1 units which Saudi Arabia already has. This will provide Saudi Arabia with the capability of defending all of the sensitive locations in the country.

Saudi Arabia today is reaping the rewards of the program of technical cooperation which it has realized the necessity of ever since 1974 and which it chose French firms to carry out. Right now Saudi Arabia possesses defensive weapons which totally correspond to its particular needs. Furthermore, the Saudis are very well acquainted with this system because they are the ones who set the system's specifications from the beginning and they have kept abreast of developments throughout all of the stages of the development of the system. Also, according to this new deal, Saudi Arabia will be the nation which will possess the most modern air defense protection capability in the world.

9468

CSO: 4404/375



DENMARK SEEKS TO EXPORT TECHNOLOGY, TRAINING TO KINGDOM

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN in Danish 16-22 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Rolf Geckler and Anders Jerichow]

[Text] Danish exports to Saudi Arabia have increased 19-fold in 10 years. Now that this major oil-producing country is completing its infrastructure, however, Danish companies must turn more and more to the export of training, high technology, and know-how. But the goal is to make ourselves superfluous. The Saudi Arabians can do things for themselves.

When Queen Margrethe pays an official visit to Saudi Arabia this weekend, Danish banker Erik Trolle-Schultz will return from the Middle East. He will be authorized to invest over 0.5 billion kroner as risk capital in Danish companies.

This is the initial result of a new figure in the Danish banking world, the Islamic Bank International, which entered the Nordic and European capital market on 19 April when it opened a small office on Jernbanegade in Copenhagen. A group of rich and influential Moslems from the Middle East have invested 50 million kroner in this capital project, which will pave the way for the Islamic Bank to become a link between the Moslem world and the Nordic and European countries.

Unlike our conventional banks, the Islamic Bank offers a "bonus system" instead of interest. This refers to returns on the bank's investments in profitable companies. Money cannot beget money, according to Islamic law. It must be invested actively--and this is precisely what Trolle-Schultz will do.

The bank director told WEEKENDAVISEN, after his negotiations with businessmen and government representatives in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, that the Islamic Bank will be able to arrange investments of 12 times the bank's own capital, i.e. about 600 million kroner.

"Many Gulf countries have difficulties making satisfactory investments in Europe," Trolle-Schultz said. "For this reason, we can help them finance Danish and European exports to the Islamic countries."

The Gulf nations are actively seeking to diversify their investments. According to Trolle-Schultz, this provides Danish know-how with the opportunity to expand their agricultural production and to manage small businesses.

#### No Trade, Thank You

Once in Saudi Arabia, Her Majesty must be prepared to be a guest in a country where female heads of state are not expected to speak in public. The royal couple's traveling companion, Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, must remember that, contrary to the usual custom when representatives travel, trade issues will not be discussed. The invitation by Saudi Arabia is a polite gesture on the part of King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz and not a journey to promote trade.

But Danish business people cannot complain: Saudi Arabia is now our third largest export market outside Europe, surpassed only by the United States and Japan.

In 1974 when the oil crisis was forcing heating bills up, Danish companies sent exports worth 124 million kroner to Saudi Arabia. Since then Denmark has managed to turn the Saudi Arabian desert into a fertile market, which received 2.3 billion kroner in Danish goods during 1983. There was a 52-percent increase in exports last year alone.

#### Milk And Children's Blocks

Complete dairies have given Danish Turnkey Dairies A/S a firm foothold in the desert sand of Saudi Arabia. During the past 10 years the company has signed 16 contracts with Saudi Arabia. Today over three fourths of the country's total milk production comes from dairies bearing the trademark of the Aarhus company. Danish Turnkey Dairies controls over 80 percent of the dairy market in Saudi Arabia.

The company owes its position as oriental dairy magnate to goal-oriented marketing: a representative is sent out to see where a dairy is needed. This representative then finds the right customer and convinces him to proceed.

Thanks to this method, Danish Turnkey Dairies now has 15 offices in the Middle East.

Since even camels can be made of Lego blocks, Lego Overseas A/S has convinced Saudi Arabian children to play with the Danish building blocks. But sales began to pick up considerably only after catalogs appeared in Arabic. Similarly, Lego's Modulex system became an educational tool for the Arabs only after the system was converted to Arabic letters. Even though sales remain modest in comparison to Lego's other markets, the company has increased sales by 50 percent annually during the past few years.

But the largest Danish export order to date was a stroke of genius in the field of Danish systems exports--the Jizan Hospital. This was a joint venture

involving the Saudi Arabian authorities, the Danish Board of Health, and Danish businesses. The project cost \$29 million, or almost 250 million Danish kroner.

The primary condition for exports to Saudi Arabia is that a Saudi Arabian partner must be involved in the project and that this partner must have decisive influence.

"The Saudis are excellent businessmen," said Jorn C. Hansen of the Industry Council. He learned this 6 years ago when he began marketing soft drinks from Albani Bryggerier in Saudi Arabia.

In addition to soft drinks, the Danish export package to Saudi Arabia includes milk products, medicines, fertilizers, machines of all types, electronic equipment, and furniture. Some of the large Danish firms that have established subsidiaries in Saudi Arabia are Hoffmann & Sonner, Semco, Hempels Skibsfarve, Dyrup, Hojgaard & Schultz, Co-Ro Food, Dangroup, Danish Turnkey Dairies, Intercool, OK, Ginge Brand, Larsen & Nielsen, Kampsax, Steensen & Varming, and Monberg & Thorsen.

#### Self-Sufficiency

Self-sufficiency and less dependence on oil exports are the key words in Saudi Arabia's new 5-year plan for 1985 to 1990.

Once the infrastructure is in place, according to the plan, Saudi Arabia will concentrate more on education, training its own work force, and improving health-care.

The basic goals are a structural change in the economy, an expansion of social welfare, and an increase in economic and administrative effectiveness.

"This creates new opportunities for Danish exports," said civil engineer Bent Knauer of Bigum & Steenfoss, who has been visiting Saudi Arabia for many years.

"When a country undergoes such rapid development and also has money, there comes a time when it must start training its own people."

According to Bent Knauer, this "Saudiization" of the country opens the door for the export of Danish educational and training systems to both private business and the public sector.

"We must understand that our goal is to make ourselves superfluous," Bent Knauer said.

With its oil billions behind it, Saudi Arabia has developed in just a few years from a Bedouin society to a developing country with a constantly increasing need for high technology.

This is bringing to an end the days when foreign exporters could sell practically anything.

"The market has changed and we will soon be unable to sell the goods we are selling today," Jorn C. Hansen said. "But I believe that new opportunities will present themselves, especially for Danish specialty industries."

According to Jorn C. Hansen, there will be many opportunities for specialized companies in the health sector and the food industry.

Danish contractors, on the other hand, must realize that their glory days in Saudi Arabia are about over. Like the American giant Bechtel Group Inc, they will discover that the market is about saturated and that others can do the job cheaper. As a result, Bechtel has been forced to enter joint agreements with the Korean Hyundai Engineering & Construction Co.

But even though there will be fewer major construction projects in Saudi Arabia, Danish companies should be able to enter the market by operating and maintaining existing plants and other facilities.

#### Risk

Even though Saudi Arabia now is one of the richest countries in the world, investors must ask how long a feudal nation run by a single family can remain stable in an otherwise unstable Middle East.

The American intelligence agency, the CIA, showed 5 years ago that it had lost touch with developments in Iran. The consequences were devastating.

Bent Knauer offers the following advice to Danish companies operating in the Middle East: "Diversify your investments over several countries, maintain liquidity in your individual projects, and concentrate on socially oriented projects that will not rise and fall with whatever government is in power."

9336

CSO: 3613/122

# AL-ASAD APPOINTS NEW CABINET MEMBERS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 369, 17 Mar 84 p 26

[Article: "Collective Decision-Making Affirmed in Syrian Leadership"]

[Text] Last sunday evening, Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad issued five decrees, in which he appointed three vice presidents of the republic, accepted the resignation of Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm as prime minister, and named the members of the new cabinet. It had been expected that the cabinet would undergo a comprehensive change, but the changes were limited to filling the gaps left by the deaths of four ministers.

Through the naming of Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, Dr Rif'at al-Asad, and Mr Zuhayr Mashariqah as vice presidents, the principle of collective decision-making has been strengthened. In addition, a new method of administering the government has been adopted, since this is the first time since independence that Syria's president has had vice presidents.

It is expected that each of the three vice presidents will dedicate himself to a specific task. Mr Khaddam, who has occupied the post of Syrian foreign minister for 13 consecutive years, is expected to take charge of foreign political affairs, while Dr al-Asad will oversee security and defense affairs, especially since Lt General Mustafa Talas has been named deputy prime minister in the new cabinet. He is also minister of defense. Mr Mashariqah is expected to be concerned with the affairs of the party. He is still the party's assistant regional secretary.

In connection with the new cabinet, the post of minister of information, which was rendered vacant by the passing of Mr Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad, was filled by the appointment of Mr Yasin Rajjuh. He is a former inspector in the General Organization for Supervision and Inspection and a former general director of the Ba'th's press and publishing house. Until taking over the ministry, he was governor of the Damascus countryside. Mr Rajjuh is tied by strong and intimate bonds to most of those working in the field of information, and this will help to facilitate the conduct of his new duties. He is a distinguished writer with well known literary and media interests. For many years, he has had a famous literary radio program.

As for the post of minister of higher education, which was rendered vacant by the death of Dr As'ad Darqawi, it has been given to Dr Ziyad Shawqi, a

noted pediatrician who graduated in the United States of America. He has been president of the University of Damascus for the last 2 years. He is from a well known Damascene family.

The post of minister of local administration has been given to Mr 'Abd-al-Karim 'Adi, who filled the post of minister of state for the affairs of the presidency of the republic in the last cabinet. His place in that position has been taken by Mr Wahib Fadil, the governor of Idlib. Moreover, the post of minister of construction and development was given to Mr Riyad Baghdadi, who filled the place of the late minister, Mr Nayif Jarbu'. Both are from the Arab Socialists Party, which is part of the Progressive National Front.

Only two ministers have left the government: Mr 'Abd-al-Jabbar al-Dahhak, the minister of oil and mineral wealth, and Dr Ahmad 'Umar Yusuf, the minister of electricity. Their places were taken by Dr Ghazi al-Durubi and Engineer Kamil al-Baba, respectively.

Therefore, one can consider the new cabinet to be a continuation of the previous one, now that the idea of a comprehensive change, which had been put forth, has been set aside in expectation of the party elections and new regional leadership for the party. According to law, the elections will be followed by a new cabinet.

The post left open by the naming of Mr Khaddam as a vice president of the republic has been given to Mr Faruq al-Shar', who in past years has worked at the side of Mr Khaddam as minister of state for foreign affairs.

Thus, Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm has formed his third cabinet. He formed the first in January 1980 and the second in 1982. In the third one, the internal role of al-Kasm has been strengthened, now that he has successfully administered the affairs of the government on the economic, agricultural and industrial levels. He is an engineer and a tireless observer of work in all fields.

12224

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## REASONS FOR CONFLICTS INSIDE GOVERNMENT EXAMINED

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[Article by Bakr 'Uwaydah: "The Difficult Clashes Are an Ambition That Unifies Those Who Are Competing for the Succession, While It Divides Them in the Race To Arrive"]

[Text] In light of the appointment by Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad of three vice presidents and the indications offered by the formation of the new Syrian government, the race of those whose ambition is the office of the first presidency has been limited to the names of three men who represent three basic positions on the Syrian political map. Although Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam has been named a first vice president of the republic, this has not caused observers to abandon their belief that the new arrangements in the Syrian government, given what came before them and the circumstances that have accompanied them, have placed Dr Rif'at al-Asad in the forefront, without removing from consideration the other currents and wings. This makes the observers think that the Syrian president has dealt with the competitors for the succession in a very deliberate fashion, thereby preventing their competition from turning into a struggle that could threaten the security and continuity of the government. Here is an investigation and an analysis that offers a reading of these changes and the 'ambitious race for the succession, along with some background information on the Syrian political map.

There is an event well known in Arab political circles that happened in days like these 26 years ago. To be precise, it was an event connected with the establishment of the United Arab Republic in 1958. To be even more precise, it occurred on 22 February 1958. On that day, the people of the northern region (Syria) and the southern region (Egypt) had to choose a president for the unified republic from among two leaders, each of whom was worthy to be president because of his connection with the masses. These men were Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and Shukri al-Quwatli. At that time, no dispute arose and no crisis broke out. Therefore, the people of the two regions faced no confusion or embarrassment. The Syrian leader decided the matter of who was to lead the unified state when he gave up his claim to the leader of the region that was larger geographically and demographically. Thus, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir became the president of the United Arab Republic, and al-Quwatli was compensated for the title of president by receiving that of first citizen. While the two were drinking coffee together after al-Quwatli's relinquishment of the presidency and 'Abd-al-Nasir's installation, the first citizen addressed his

president in this way, "Your Excellency, God has granted you the right to rule 4 million citizens (Syria's population at the time), each one of whom considers himself an independent state."

It was said that the (late) President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir repeated and remembered what the first citizen had told him both before and after the separation. He did so beforehand when complaints and disputes from and within the ranks of the political leaders in the northern region reached him, and he did so afterwards when he used to remind the Arab political leaders he entertained and the Arab unionists who came for his charity after the secessionist coup had occurred that political stability was a difficult matter in Syria. He would say that so many coups had occurred before the union that a saying became widespread according to which the officer who beat the others to Radio Damascus would rule Syria.

Between the attainment of its independence in 1949 and the establishment of unity in 1958, Syria witnessed three military coups led successively by Husni al-Za'im, Sami al-Hinawi, and Adib al-Shishakli. Had the unified state been fated to endure, it might have achieved for Syria some kind of political stability and banished the phenomenon of military coups, but as it happened, a military coup eliminated the union on 26 September 1961. It was led by Ma'mun al-Kuzbari, and various political organizations took part in it. The military Ba'thists soon took care of the regime of al-Kuzbari on 8 March 1963 with another coup. The new regime held a rapprochement with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and Cairo, at that time the capital of the United Arab Republic. ('Abd-al-Nasir kept the name of the unified state for Egypt. It was changed by the late President Anwar al-Sadat). That period saw tripartite unity talks between Egypt, Syria and Iraq. This gave the impression that Syria had closed the folder of military coups in preparation for the spread of a kind of political stability. However, 28 February 1966 demonstrated that this impression was false. On that day, a few days before the celebration of the anniversary of the Ba'th's accession to power on 8 March 1963, military Ba'thists removed their compatriots from power. Amin al-Hafiz and the late Salah-al-Din al-Bitar were removed from office, while a dentist named Dr Nur-al-Din al-Atasi came to power, along with Salah Jadid, Yusuf Zu'ayyin, and others. The coup of 28 February 1966 has been called the "corrective movement," because it transferred power from one group of Ba'thists to another. Once again, observers were inclined to believe that the file of military coups would be closed, since what had happened was a dispute in the ranks of those in power that had developed to the point of being decided by arms. However, this belief was incorrect as well. After the odor of the disputes existing among those in power in Damascus had been dispersed for a time, the invalidity of this belief was demonstrated by the action taken by the leader of the air force at the time, General Hafiz al-Asad. He led a military coup on the morning of 16 October 1970, and announced in his first statement that he was leading a "corrective movement". The same terminology had been used in the first statement issued on the morning of 28 February 1966.

Therefore, between the coup of 8 March 1963 and that of 16 October 1970, a period of 7 years, 7 months, and 8 days, a succession of Ba'thists came to power in Syria. However, during this period, the matter of who would be the

successor and who would rule was not brought up, perhaps because an ambitious general seeking to rule was not about to wait for the question of the succession to stimulate a give-and-take among those whose ambition it was to succeed the current ruler. Instead, such men took the initiative in deciding the matter with tanks. Therefore, the question was not raised, as it has been now. President Hafiz al-Asad has lasted longer in power (13 years and 5 months so far) than anyone else. However, the succession has always been a difficult matter in Syria for all those who have come to power, from Husni al-Za'im to 'Abd-al-Nasir, Hafiz al-Asad, and whoever will succeed him. Why does this difficulty exist, and what are its dimensions? We will try to answer this question after examining the circumstances that have accompanied the raising of the difficult question of the succession in Syria during the past few days.

### The Illness and the Succession

The resignation of the government of Engineer Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm on the evening of Tuesday, 6 March 1984, did not raise the issue of the succession to the first man in the Syrian government. It would be more accurate to say that the government's resignation brought the question of the succession to the surface. Underneath it, those competing for power had been moving. They began to make their calculations and prepare their ranks for taking power when President Hafiz al-Asad was afflicted by illness last November. At that time, it was announced that the president was suffering from simple physical exhaustion, but the main figures in the government realized that he was suffering from a heart attack and that he might not have much time left. When President Hafiz al-Asad disappeared from view for a long period, the predictions of the observers multiplied, while the ambitious escalated their preparations. In just the same way, his resumption of his responsibilities as the top man helped to postpone the decision among those competing for the succession.

Nevertheless, it was not easy to hide the seriousness of the competition for the succession and put out its fire simply because President Hafiz al-Asad resumed the practice of his duties as the top man. There were two causes for this difficulty. The first was that the competition among the ambitious preceded the president's illness, because the essence of this competition was always to win the trust of the president. It was a competition to prove one's loyalty to him. This sort of thing is sufficient to reassure the president himself, on the one hand, and prevent the emergence of competition in the form of an open struggle, on the other. The second reason was that the preparations taken during the period of the president's illness by the competing parties made each party feel that what could be described as a hurdle race was in progress. Therefore, in order to assure the succession, one had to move quickly to prove one's qualifications. The two most prominent ones were loyalty and the power with which to defend it. Perhaps this helps to explain all the military phenomena witnessed by Damascus a few days ago. They caused some observers and correspondents to believe that the competition for the succession had exploded into an armed struggle. At the same time, other observers thought that the resignation of the government was another indication of disputes between government factions desirous of winning the first post in the state. Though the belief of the observers and correspondents that an armed struggle had broken out did not have the luck to crystallize

into a fact, the resignation of the government proved -- unusually for Syria -- that the event was not normal, and that it was directly related to the competition among those in the government to succeed the top man.

In the estimation of those who follow the Syrian political situation, the cabinet change and the minor alterations made in its structure do not amount to an important political event in Syria. Rather, the whole affair is a routine occurrence, especially since the change did not touch a group of basic ministerial portfolios, such as foreign affairs, defense, information, and domestic affairs. Some of those in contact with circles close to President Hafiz al-Asad have added that the man himself is not an enthusiast of a lot of ministerial changes and alterations. In his private councils, he says often that cabinet changes can detract from the state of the government and the stability of the regime if they are made repeatedly. Thus, during the term of President Hafiz al-Asad, the Syrian government has had only four prime ministers. They were the following:

Mahmud al-Ayyubi was from a well known Damascene family. He headed the first government after the 16 October 1970 coup. Therefore, he came after Yusuf Zu'ayyin, who headed the government that was eliminated. Before becoming prime minister, Mahmud al-Ayyubi was an official in the employ of the Ministry of Education and Instruction. He was a secondary school teacher. Al-Ayyubi was known for the flexible style with which he administered the government's affairs. This has caused some to believe that his departure from the government came as a result of negligence and violations in a number of utilities and services sectors, which raised the ire of the citizenry. Their anger was transferred from the street to the party and the presidency of the state, and this necessitated a change in which al-Ayyubi was removed from the prime ministership. On another level, there are those who affirm al-Ayyubi's flexibility and the occurrence of negligence and violations during the period of his prime ministership, but emphasize the fact that the man's own hands were clean. They attribute his removal from the prime ministership to health reasons. It is known that al-Ayyubi has been suffering for years from a serious disease (brain fever). Therefore, he is bedridden.

The second prime minister to serve during the term of President Hafiz al-Asad was Major General 'Abd-al-Rahman Khalifawi. A source with expert knowledge of Syrian affairs has said that Khalifawi was a stern soldier, and that this was reflected in the style with which he administered the executive apparatus of the state. The same source added that Major General Khalifawi's sternness was a part of his personality, and that it determined his relations with his friends and those around him before he became prime minister. President al-Asad asked Major General Khalifawi (who is of Algerian origin and was raised in Halab, where he resided) to form the government that followed that of al-Ayyubi in order to demonstrate that there was a real need for a strict man to follow a flexible one. Thus, Khalifawi's term saw the creation of the "Commission on Ill-Gotten Gains," which investigated all the violations and cases of negligence and administrative corruption that had appeared during the al-Ayyubi government. As for the resignation of the Khalifawi government and his removal from the prime ministership, observers think that they were the result of purely health-related circumstances, since Khalifawi is also bedridden because of illness. The state of his health is not good.



After Khalifawi, Mr Muhammad 'Ali al-Halabi took over the prime ministership. He is not from the city of Halab, as his name would make one think. Rather, he is from a Damascene family. Before becoming prime minister, al-Halabi headed the Syrian People's Assembly. Before occupying these two posts, he held the position of minister of justice and practiced law. Before that, he was a teacher. Al-Halabi moved from the prime minister's office to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he became a subordinate of Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, who stayed at the ministry while al-Halabi became Syria's ambassador to Moscow. The embassy in Moscow is of special importance for Syria's international relations.

The fourth prime minister is the current one. This is the second time he has been given the task of forming a cabinet. The first time was on 15 January 1980. He is Engineer Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm. 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm was not among those Syrian personalities who were known in the circles of Arab politicians, as was his older brother, Dr Badi' al-Kasm, who is well known in the circles of Arab political thought as one of the theoreticians behind the pan-Arab idea and a member of the generation of Sati' al-Hasri and Zaki al-Arsuzi. Moreover, he is a member of the group that founded the Ba'th Party. As for Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm, he came to the prime minister's office from his position as governor of Damascus. Before holding that post, he was dean of the College of Fine Arts for several years. He was also involved in the contracting business after he got his doctorate in engineering in Paris and before he assumed official duties in the state. Those who know Syrian affairs say he amassed immense wealth from his work as contracting engineer, and that he is worth 40 million Syrian pounds, give or take a little. The same sources have added that when President Hafiz al-Asad called on him to form the cabinet, he was eager to tell the president of the republic about his wealth and reserve funds before forming the cabinet. In this way, he took into account hearsay to be spoken later. The sources of this story have said that the Syrian president evinced great pleasure at the behavior of his prime minister. Therefore, the sources added, President Hafiz al-Asad promised to support the prime minister. Except for the ministries that are directly connected to President al-Asad -- foreign affairs, defense, and information -- Dr al-Kasm practiced proper government administration.

Unluckily for Dr al-Kasm, a number of ministers and other high state officials in Syria were struck by serious illnesses, so that the matter came to be discussed in the councils of some government officials of the first and second rank, according to what some people have said. However, there is no disagreement about the fact that illness sidelined four ministers from al-Kasm's government, and they later died. These four men were:

Adnan al-Dabbagh, who was minister of the interior and local government;  
As'ad Darqawi, who was minister of higher education;  
Nayif Jarbu', who was minister of development;  
Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad, who was minister of information.

#### Compelling Reasons and Important Considerations

Because the four ministerial posts mentioned above remained empty during the illness of the ministers and after their deaths, one of the chief reasons

for reorganizing the government was to appoint new ministers to bear the burdens of the empty offices. This reason was the only official interpretation heard by foreign journalists and correspondents from official Syrian sources after the resignation of the government was announced. However, the compelling reasons for any ministerial change in Syria, according to more than one observer and expert, go beyond filling in gaps. There are two important factors:

1 If the government begins to perceive or feel a certain dissatisfaction in the ranks of the people, especially with regard to economic conditions and living standards. In this case, the ministerial change has the goal of absorbing these feelings and spreading an optimistic sense that conditions will soon improve.

2 If there is some kind of new selection of influential forces within the Ba'th Party or the other parties that make up the Progressive National Front, which produces a re-examination of the distribution of shares within the executive apparatus of the state.

Therefore, on the basis of available information, observers think that the circumstances of the resignation of the government and the reassignment to Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm of the task of forming a new one are connected to the second factor referred to above, in addition to the need to fill the empty ministerial posts. In this context, it is important to clarify several basic considerations that have continued to be taken into account in the formation of Syrian governments during the last 20 years. One can sum up these considerations, as observers see them, in the following fashion:

1 There are ministerial portfolios that are given only to those who are qualified by virtue of their positions in the Ba'th Party. These portfolios are defense, foreign affairs, domestic affairs, local government, information, higher education, the economy, supply, and oil.

2 There are ministerial portfolios that can be held by representatives of the other parties that make up the Progressive National Front (the Communists, the Nasserites, and the Socialist Unionists). These portfolios include the ministries of culture, labor, and transportation.

3 There are ministerial posts that are assigned to independent personalities. Once again, one of these is the Ministry of Culture, in addition to the ministries of justice, religious endowments, or tourism.

4 There is still another fundamental consideration. It consists of paying attention to the representation and presence of the various regions of the country, as well as its multitude of sects, in the formation of a cabinet. Within the context of the other three considerations, this factor affects the distribution of ministerial portfolios.

Thus, in the context of the reasons for the ministerial change and the orientations controlling the formation of the cabinet, the structure of the new cabinet will inevitably throw some revealing light on the selection process that occurred after the issue of who should succeed President Hafiz al-Asad was raised. This is especially true since this cabinet change in Syria is occurring at a time when the competition among more than one faction within



the government itself for the office of the presidency of the state has become prominent. However, the change will not affect the essence of the political line. The competing groups are after a succession that one can obtain, deal with, and hold on to only with difficulty. One must now ask who the competitors are, and why the succession is difficult.

#### The Competitors and the Difficulty of the Succession

In the beginning, according to more than one observer, one must affirm a basic fact: Those whose ambition is to succeed President Hafiz al-Asad are separated by that desire, while being joined by their loyalty to the person and program of the president himself. This means that no disagreement exists among them with regard to loyalty to President Hafiz al-Asad. This loyalty has produced something like a gentleman's agreement among the factions that no one will attain the first presidency via a coup that would sweep away those who agree to be loyal to al-Asad. The same thing holds true with regard to the agreement by all the competing parties concerning President Hafiz al-Asad's position on all the basic issues with which the government has dealt up till now on the Arab and international levels (Lebanon, Palestine, the Middle East in general, relations with Iraq, the position on the Iran-Iraq War, relations with Washington and Moscow, and Syrian-Arab relations in their general context). The dispute therefore centers around demonstrating a higher degree of loyalty, whereby one can obtain more advanced and influential positions that will qualify the person holding them for the succession, at the right time.

On the map of competing and ambitious forces, one can read the following names from the military side:

- 1 Col Dr Rif'at al-Asad, the commander of the Defense Companies
- 2 Maj Gen Hikmat al-Shihabi, the chief of staff of the armed forces
- 3 Shafiq Fayyad, the commander of the Third Division
- 4 'Ali Duba, the head of military intelligence
- 5 'Ali Haydar, the official in charge of the special units

There are two prominent names on the civilian and party side: Mr 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, the assistant general secretary of the party (Hafiz al-Asad is the general secretary), and 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, who has guided Syria's foreign policy since al-Asad took over the presidency of the republic.

In their reading of the scenario of alliances within the game of competition, observers think that Shafiq Fayyad, the commander of the Third Division (about 50,000 soldiers), is allied with 'Ali Haydar, the official in charge of the special units. Together, they are confronting Dr Rif'at al-Asad. The Fayyad-Haydar axis gets support from another axis composed of Maj Gen Hikmat al-Shihabi, the chief of staff, and Maj Gen 'Ali Duba, the head of military intelligence, while the political and intra-party support provided by the Khaddam-al-Ahmar axis favors the axis competing with Col Rif'at al-Asad. However, another group of observers believes that the scenario of alliances has a purely confessional and sectarian basis. Therefore, they think that Maj Gen al-Shihabi, together with 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam (the two men are Sunnis), is supporting the Fayyad-Haydar axis (the two are 'Alawites) without losing the support of Duba, who is also an 'Alawite, in a confrontation with Col Rif'at al-Asad, in whose favor the scales are tipping. However, though

the sectarian-based analysis of alliances does not differ much from the reading of the alliances scenario that is not based on confessional classification, it is still a weak analysis, since the competing parties are all striving for the friendship and support of President Hafiz al-Asad himself. All realize that nothing upsets the man as does talk about sectarian classification. Indeed, it is said that what most annoys President Hafiz al-Asad in the opposition campaigns against him is talk about the sectarian quality of his rule. This explains why al-Asad appointed Mr Khaddam first vice president, despite the fact that many people had thought that the first vice president would be his brother Rif'at.

#### What Point Has the Race Reached?

Before the announcement of the appointment of the three vice presidents of the republic Damascus witnessed military phenomena. Travelers coming from Syria have spoken of them, and some newspapers and news agencies have referred to them. These events have given one the impression that the scales in the race were tipping toward Col Rif'at al-Asad. If the predictions that speak about the merging of the special units, under the command of 'Ali Haydar, and the Defense Companies, under the command of Colonel al-Asad, are true, then Dr al-Asad, who has been appointed vice president of the republic for defense affairs and security, has scored more than one point in the other team's goal, even though he was not appointed first vice president. In that case, he would be the luckiest candidate in the race for the difficult succession, although the appointment of three vice presidents of the republic seems to be a very intelligent political measure indeed, which President Hafiz al-Asad took in order to lessen the intensity of the competition, on the one hand, and maintain loyalty of all factions to himself, on the other. By appointing his brother Rif'at vice president for security and defense affairs, he satisfied a pan-Arab and firmly established current. By appointing Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam first vice president for political and foreign affairs, he satisfied the chief of staff of the army, assured the preservation of the state's policy line, and challenged the accusation that he is a sectarian confessionalist. By appointing Mr Zuhayr Mashariqah vice president for the affairs of the party, he confirmed the party's role in the determination of state policy and the identity of the top man. If one can say so, the appointment of three vice presidents has limited the question of who will succeed President Hafiz al-Asad to them, as long as no surprises occur and change the currently extant alliances.

With regard to the background of the three vice presidents, observers of Syrian affairs say that Col Rif'at al-Asad sees himself as the rightful heir whose claim to the presidency of the state cannot be contested. He believes that the effort he has exerted in constructing and forming the Defense Companies has actively and effectively protected the security of the regime for the past 13 years. He sees himself as the person who closed the file on military coups in Syria after the 16 October 1970 movement. These observers have added that he has been preparing himself for the succession for some time. They base this statement on a variety of indicators, including the fact that the man has tried to go beyond his military role by taking on a scientific one. He did so by submitting a thesis on economics to the University of Moscow,

so that he now bears the title of "doctor." In addition, he has been eager to strengthen his ties to learned people and intellectuals. He founded a publishing house called the al-Fursan House that publishes a weekly political magazine and a monthly intellectual journal, both of which are called AL-FURSAN. He also founded and headed a society of graduates of advanced studies. It contains all intellectuals bearing the doctorate degree. It is now said that he has been working hard for some time to found a supreme council for the sects in order to create a link between himself and the religious and spiritual leaders of the different sects. It has been noted that he has been very interested in establishing good ties and relations on the Arab and international levels, which could provide him with a reserve at the appropriate time. In this regard, it is said that he was not pleased by the way in which the Syrian-Palestinian crisis was escalated, and that he leaned toward adopting the demands of the rebels without going as far as a rupture between Damascus and Abu 'Ammar. In this regard, some observers have noted a news report published by several Arab newspapers, which attributed the story to the Kuwaiti News Agency, on 20 February. The story dealt with the fact that the king of Morocco, King Hasan II, had received two representatives from Dr Rif'at al-Asad. By way of speculation, these observers say that the mission of the two envoys had to do with assuring the Moroccan monarch that Syrian-Palestinian reconciliation was in the offing, on the one hand, and that Damascus was waiting for the proper time in which to play its role alongside those resisting the Camp David accord by bringing Egypt back to the Arab fold. These observers support their analysis by saying that King Hasan II told President Husni Mubarak about what he had heard from Col Rif'at al-Asad. President Mubarak took the initiative and went beyond the interrupted relations between Cairo and Damascus. He sent a telegram of felicitations to President Hafiz al-Asad on the occasion of the 8 March holiday. In addition, he said friendly things about President al-Asad in a recent interview on Yugoslavian television. In the interview, he said that he had "great respect" for the Syrian president, whom he knew personally when he was one of the Syrian pilots working in Egypt during the days of unity between the two countries. In addition, observers of the situation in Syria, who read the political activity of Dr Rif'at al-Asad and follow his activities, which go beyond his military capacity, think that he holds the reins of a considerable military force. All these matters place him in the forefront of the candidates for the difficult succession.

Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam draws strength for his ambition to be president from the support of Maj Gen Hikmat al-Shihabi, the chief of staff of the army. By way of emendation, an informed source said that the basic source of Major General al-Shihabi's support for Mr Khaddam is the trust President Hafiz al-Asad places in his foreign minister, who has kept his post since coming to it after the 16 October 1970 movement. He was once the head of the "Jadidah" control post on the Syrian-Lebanese border. Later, he was governor of more than one city in Syria. Lest anyone think that Mr Khaddam is a military man, let us point out that he held these positions in a civilian capacity, since he was a graduate of the College of Law. In secondary school, he studied under Dr Fu'ad Butrus, the former Lebanese foreign minister, before becoming his Syrian counterpart. He confers with him on common matters and concerns. Therefore, the same informed source added, Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam was not pleased with some excesses committed by some members of the Defense Companies

and the "parachute battalions". He thought such acts distorted the image of the party in the minds of many citizens. He expressed this dissatisfaction when he refused to allow members of the Defense Companies to be his guards. He preferred to have the members of his guard come from the special units. This caused a gap in the relationship between him and Col Rif'at al-Asad.

As for Mr Zuhayr Mashariqah, the vice president for the affairs of the party, it was not known that he was among those aspiring for the first presidency. What little information about him that is available indicates that he comes from a Halab family living in a quarter known as al-Mashariqah. The people of this quarter became famous for stubbornly resisting the separation from Egypt in the 1961 coup, and they were among those who contributed to Halab's rebellion against the separatists. It is also known that he was the director of the teachers' institute in Halab before being elevated within the party and granted membership in the regional leadership. After that, he became a vice president of the republic.

Three somewhat important matters remain:

First of all, there is no doubt that all the developments witnessed by the Arab region, especially with regard to Lebanon and the Palestinian issue, have demonstrated that Syria is a basic key for all the crises or openings the region could witness. In addition, the influence of the Syrian role in the region is the title of the difficult task borne by the country's number one decision-maker.

Secondly, no matter how true the beliefs, interpretations, and predictions inspired by recent developments inside Syria itself might be, there is no doubt that the continuation of the extant government -- which is what its people want -- requires the determination of the personality that can fill the presidential vacuum without any imbalance occurring, should the office become vacant suddenly.

Thirdly, the situation in Syria resembles that in most countries of the Third World, since the power of the government depends on the extent to which the regime can be sure of the military institution. In and of itself, this is a difficult task. If the military institution turns into several institutions that possess the most modern weaponry and are about equally balanced in strength, power, and equipment, the job of the man sitting on top of the pyramid of authority will be most difficult.

May God help these men with their difficult tasks...in all that is good.

12224

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JERUSALEM ARABIC REPORTS ON SYRIAN POWER STRUGGLE

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[From "With the Events" program]

[Text] Reports from Damascus that were received in Paris gave contradictory information about the situation in Syria and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's health. However, this information affirmed the tense climate in the Syrian capital following the violent clashes that took place last week and the assassination of four defense squads officers. The following is a report on the power struggle in Damascus following the deterioration of the Syrian president's health, prepared by colleague Ya'qub Qassab:

[Begin recording] The political and military reports that were dispatched to Paris from Damascus said that a state of emergency currently prevails in the Syrian internal security units in the wake of a series of violent clashes and a settlement of accounts between the various security organs in Syria. This matter prompted the Syrian authorities to declare a state of alert among the special units. According to a diplomatic source in Damascus, some Syrian units were called up from Lebanon's al-Biqa' to Damascus last week.

French sources said that Damascus last week witnessed violent clashes. The French paper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS published a special news report yesterday saying that clashes took place last week between the defense squads led by Major General Mu'in Nasif, who assumed command after Rif'at al-Asad; and the special units of Major General 'Ali Haydar, who is competing with Rif'at and who called up his forces from the al-Biqa'.

The paper added that four defense squads officers were assassinated. The French paper went on to say that Rif'at al-Asad's supporters distributed pamphlets in which they accused 'Ali Haydar and his aides of perpetrating the Hamah massacres in February 1982 following the Muslim Brotherhood's rebellious attempt against President Hafiz al-Asad's regime.

Political observers noted the power struggle heating up in Syria during the past 2 weeks. Johathan Randal, correspondent of the WASHINGTON POST in Damascus, quoted a high-ranking Syrian diplomatic source as saying that there is no opportunity now to reach a settlement between Rif'at al-Asad and his competitors. Therefore, one of the two sides must concede authority. Randal

added that the infantry and tanks forces of the Third Division under Major General Shafiq Ziyad were defensively deployed for the first time in the north and east of Damascus in order to repel any attempt by Rif'at al-Asad to control the government establishments in Damascus. He added that the USSR expressed concern over the increasing power struggle in Syria. For this purpose, senior Soviet expert in Syria General (?Yashkin) met with President al-Asad last week. During the meeting, al-Asad promised (?Yashkin) that the Soviet experts will be safe.

Political observers in Damascus expressed their belief that an escalation of the power struggle in Syria is very possible as the days go on. This escalation may reach the extent of armed confrontation between Rif'at al-Asad and his competitors. These developments, according to the observers, denote the increasing delusions from which President al-Asad is suffering. Due to his deteriorating health, al-Asad will not be able to control this struggle. Accordingly, the two struggling sides find that the present is the appropriate time to support their positions in preparation for the phase that will follow the al-Asad era. These observers added that despite the reports on al-Asad's resumption of his duties, it is obvious that he is now not the same Hafiz al-Asad whom we knew before November last year when he suffered a heart attack.

The Syrian president now has no energy to command--that energy with which he was characterized prior to his illness. He currently represents only a marginal factor in the power struggle in Syria. [End recording]

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

ALUMINUM PRODUCTION--UAE Finance and Industry Minister Shaykh Hamdad ibn Rashid reported in a statement published by the annual report of the Dubai Aluminum Company, which is known as Dubal, that the company's production of aluminum for the year 1983 reached about 151,000 tons, an increase of 1.6 percent over 1982. [Summary] [GF161019 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0925 GMT 16 Apr 84]

CSO: 4400/220

## GOVERNMENT INSISTS IT FOSTERS RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 29 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] Since ancient times, our toiling and religious people have decisively defended the holy religion of Islam and the versatile Shari's of the Prophet, peace be upon Him. They perform their daily routine according to the principles of the true Islamic religion. Our popular government under the leadership of the PDPA takes as its ardent responsibility the preservation of and profound respect for the religion of Islam and its religious principles and directives. Article 5 of the DRA constitution says, "Respect, consideration and observance of the Islamic true religion in the DRA and the freedom to perform religious ceremonies is guaranteed for all Muslims." The DRA, in accordance with its national and democratic nature, which is the guardian and supporter of all toiling and Muslim classes and strata of our society, has never hesitated in its efforts to the gains of the revolution, territorial integrity and democratic rights and freedom for the people since its establishment and especially since the start of the modern and evolutionary phase of the April Revolution.

The DRA has always tried to prepare the way for the people to take an active role in the speedy and healthy development and perfection of the April Revolution for the purpose of building a modern and democratic Afghanistan. The government, through the leadership of our glorious party, not only as a devoted servant of the people, has launched an intensified campaign for the safeguarding of their rights and profits and is also performing according to the principles of the holy religion of Islam.

Since the victory of the April Revolution, especially the modern and evolutionary phase, our people have enjoyed much freedom in performing religious rites, worshipping, etc. The government is for the people and the people are supporters of their government, and they are not apart from each other. In spite of false propaganda of our various classes and affiliated forces, the DRA Government has provided better conditions for performing prayers, worship and religious ceremonies for the people. It has provided repair and reconstruction of mosques, martyr mourning places, payment of sufficient funds and coupon facilities for mosque imams, preachers, muezzins and servants and other necessities for patriotic clerics and religious servants. All this assistance and respect for the religious beliefs of the people. The people and the government will not allow, by any chance, the mercenaries of imperialism and the enemies of the April Revolution to disturb the safety and security of the country through misuse of the religious beliefs of our people. The government, however, will fight decisively and take action against those who work against the benefit of our Muslim people and the vital interests of the country.

As indicated in article 5 of the DRA constitution, of no citizen has the right to use religion as a vehicle for unpopular and anti-national propaganda provoking offences against the interests of the DRA and the people of Afghanistan.

Moreover, the government extends assistance to the patriotic activities of clerics in performing their responsibilities and devotions.

12646

CSO: 4665/24

UNREST REPORTEDLY HITS PRO-SOVIET AFGHAN FORCES

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 15 Mar 84 p 15

[Text] NEW DELHI, Wed.--The extension of conscription for military service from three to four years for all Afghan soldiers serving in Kabul has led to unrest and desertions, according to Western diplomats here.

They said that the extension, announced by the Babrak Karmal Government over radio and television on March 8, was yet another indication of the Kabul regime's mounting difficulties with the Afghan resistance movement.

Soon after the announcement, heavy fighting was reported at the Afghan Army's Eighth Division headquarters near Kabul's Karga Reservoir, the diplomats added, quoting "reliable sources in Kabul."

They said the fighting reached its fiercest level on March 8 and 9 but added that it was not clear whether Afghan Majahids (anti-Soviet fighters) or mutinying soldiers upset by the extended draft had attacked the headquarters.

Other reports said that at least 100 Afghan soldiers had deserted their units to escape the extended draft and about half of the military posts in Kabul airport's outer security perimeter were found unmanned on March 9.

The Afghan armed forces, 85,000-strong at the time of the Soviet invasion more than four years ago, have shrunk by more than half mainly because of desertions, the reports added.

CSO: 4600/502

MOVE FOR UNITED AFGHAN FRONT AGAINST SOVIETS REPORTED

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 23 Mar 84 p 17

[Text] PENSAR, Thurs.--An Afghan resistance leader said here yesterday that efforts were being made to form a broad-based united front of resistance groups against the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

Sibghatullah Mujaddidi, president of an alliance of three resistance groups, told a gathering of Afghan refugees marking the Afghan New Year Day that this was being done at the initiative of former King Zahir Shah now living in exile in Italy.

"We had accepted an invitation from Zahir Shah for the establishment of a broad-based united front and work is in progress for this," he said.

Mr Mujaddidi's alliance is called the Islamic unity of Afghanistan Mujahidin. Seven other groups are in another coalition, called the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahidin, which views Zahir Shah's moves with suspicion.

Brutal Reprisal

The Mujahidin group met last year in Rome to discuss setting up a Government-in-exile to coordinate efforts to end the Soviet occupation of their country and said they might consider Zahir Shah as head of their movement.

"Only the death of Zahir Shah will bring him back to Afghanistan," a leader of the other alliance, Abd-i-Rasoul Sayaf, said in a statement later.

Mr Mujaddidi said in his speech yesterday the Russians had gained nothing from killing people and destroying villages in Afghanistan except a "notorious name for themselves."

Several Afghan resistance groups are based in Peshawar, capital of Pakistan's North-West Frontier province bordering Afghanistan.

Most of the estimated three million Afghan refugees who fled to Pakistan after the December 1979 Soviet intervention of their country are living in the frontier province.

In Washington yesterday, a US State Department official said Moscow looked set for a long struggle against nationalist fighters in Afghanistan and an early political settlement was unlikely.

Edward Derwinski, adviser to Secretary of State George Shultz on major foreign problems, said the US had detected no signs that the Soviet Union was willing to negotiate seriously on a withdrawal of its forces.

"The Soviets seem prepared for a long struggle," he said.

"With their policy of increasingly brutal reprisal tactics against civilians and civilian areas of strategic importance, the Soviets seem to feel that they can wear down the resistance and wait them out and that the world will forget Afghanistan."

Mr Derwinski was speaking at a forum on Afghanistan in Congress.

President Ronald Reagan issued a proclamation on Tuesday making Afghanistan Day in which he said a solution must begin with a Soviet withdrawal.

Mr Reagan said: "A negotiated political settlement can be achieved if the Soviet Union agrees to withdraw its military forces of occupation."

Yesterday's forum heard calls for direct US assistance to the Afghan nationalists who speakers said faced 100,000 Soviet troops.

CSO: 4600/498



AFGHAN FIGHTERS REPORTEDLY STALL SOVIET ADVANCE

Penang THE STAR in English 22 Mar 84 p 14

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Wed. — Fierce Afghan rebel resistance appears to have stalled an expected Soviet offensive against Afghanistan's Panjsher valley, western diplomats said here yesterday.

But they added that rebel leaders there were still gearing up for an attack.

The diplomats quoted their embassies in Kabul as saying few troops appeared to be within striking distance of the strategic valley after an advancing Soviet and Afghan column was driven back to Kabul.

Ahmad Shah Masood, commander of the rebel stronghold which begins just 90 km north of Kabul, has been co-ordinating strategy with guerillas in and around the capital to divert Soviet troops from the attack, they said.

Masood warned of the expected offensive in a letter to his Jamiat-i-Islami Party in Peshawar on March 2 which said a large Soviet contingent had landed in the main supply route leading to the valley.

The diplomats confirmed that the troops were turned back after two days of fierce fighting which left about 50 Soviet and Afghan soldiers killed and many trucks and armoured personnel carriers destroyed by mines.

The Soviets have since flown additional SU-25 ground attack aircraft to the nearby Baghram airbase, but have not sent out any more ground troops, the diplomats said. — Reuter.

SOVIETS REPORTEDLY USE CUBANS IN AFGHANISTAN

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 21 Mar 84 p 13

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Tues.--The Soviets are deploying a large number of Cuban troops to fight anti-Communist Afghans, a mujahidin leader was quoted as saying today.

Western diplomatic sources quoted Muhammad Khaled Farqui, a mujahidin leader who has fought in the Urgoon front in Afghanistan's eastern Paktia province, as saying that his fighters had ample proof of the Cuban presence in Afghanistan.

Mujahids had captured a number of Cubans, he added.

Meanwhile, the former king of Afghanistan has called on the new Soviet leadership to review Soviet policy towards his country after what he said was nearly six years of intervention.

In a message released in Rome yesterday to mark the Afghan New Year, Mohammad Zahir Shah, 69, said Afghans had always been independent-minded and had never accepted foreign intervention or domination.

"The heroic struggle of this brave people during the last five years against large and well equipped Soviet forces is in itself the most shining example of their determination to remain free and independent," he said.

Mujahids have reportedly destroyed more than 50 tanker trucks carrying supplies from the Soviet Union to Afghanistan in the past two weeks, a Western diplomat said yesterday.

The attacks have caused "critical" petrol shortages in the country's two largest cities, according to the diplomat who spoke under condition he not be identified by name or nationality.

The diplomat said that according to "unconfirmed reports" rebels demolished 40 to 50 tankers on March 8 at the Kanjang Pass north of Kabul.

CSO: 4600/500

AFGHAN DESERTER CLAIMS SOVIETS USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Penang THE STAR in English 15 Mar 84 p 14

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Wed. — A former Afghan army brigadier, who defected to the Mujahideen, said the Soviets are using chemical weapons to decimate Mujahideen and civilians in Afghanistan.

The State-run radio Pakistan quoted him as saying the Soviets were using not only Napalm bombs but also chemical weapons against the Mujahideen.

The brigadier was named as Wasay by the radio. It said he had served in a chemical department of a rocket unit of the Afghan air force.

Mr Wasay, who came to Peshawar recently, said chemicals used by the Soviets contained both phosphorous and sulphur.

He said his department had been

analysing chemical weapons secretly.

He accused the Soviets of frequently using chemical weapons in several areas of Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, West German news agency DPA reported a western diplomat as saying the Soviets had moved a number of SU-25 aircraft to Bagram air base north of Kabul.

It was taken as an indication that the Soviets were planning their seventh offensive in four years against Panjshir Valley.

Control of the strategic valley is vital for both the Soviet occupation forces and the Mujahideen to keep their supply lines open.

Western diplomats here said a recent Afghan government decision to extend duty tours of soldiers in Kabul from three to four years has

led to a wave of desertions.

Quoting reports from their embassies in Kabul, they said many soldiers on guard duty near Kabul Airport and the main army bases in south-western Kabul fled after hearing the news on radio and television last Thursday.

Western diplomats said death and desertion had cut the army down to half the 80,000-man level it had before the Muslim rebellion following the communist coup in April, 1978.

Pakistan President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq said yesterday Pakistan would prefer to avoid retaliating against "provocations" by the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan.

Gen. Zia said this to tribal chiefs living near the Afghan border who had asked for permission to give an

"effective reply" to the attacks.

He said Pakistan did not want to destroy peace in the region by giving a military response to "provocations from across the border."

"There should be no doubt about Pakistan's capability to give an effective reply to such provocations," he added.

In the latest reported attack last January, Pakistan said Afghan jets bombed a Pakistani village killing 45 civilians. Afghanistan denied it.

Gen. Zia said Pakistan wanted a solution ensuring a withdrawal of foreign forces, an independent and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, Afghan people's right to determine the form of government and conditions for a peaceful return of the refugees. — Bernama-Iina, Reuter.

CSO: 4600/501

REVIEW OF NEWS EVENTS DURING JOURNALISTS' STRIKE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Excerpts] The major national events which could not be covered by the Bangladesh Observer due to the strike in the newspaper industry from March 6 to March 12 has been briefly compiled for the benefit of our readers.

The following is the resume of the events for the one week ending March 12.

The Election Commission announced through an official gazette notification on March 8 the final list of 300 constituencies for elections to Parliament to be held on May 27 next.

The Chief Election Commissioner Mr Justice A.K.M. Nurul Islam addressed on March 11 the Division Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners at the Election Commission secretariat and called upon the district administration to ensure free, fair and impartial polls.

Under the revised election schedule for 16 upazilas following the withdrawal of nomination papers earlier by all the Chairman candidates, 81 persons submitted nomination papers on March 10. The revised election schedule was announced on March 6.

President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt General H.M. Ershad announced on March 12 a grant of Taka three lakh for each municipality of the country. He addressed the newly-elected Chairmen and Commissioners of the municipalities at Shilpakala Academy on the day.

Foreign Minister A.R.S. Doha left Dhaka on March 12 to pay official visits to UAE, Egypt and Iraq.

Under two separate agreements signed in Dhaka on March 10, Bangladesh will receive nearly 114 crore Taka (30 million pound sterling) from the United Kingdom. The agreements were signed by visiting British Minister of State for Overseas Development Mr Timothy Raison and Mr Mafizur Rahman, Secretary, External Resources Division, on behalf of respective governments. Of the total amount of British assistance, Taka 57 crore will be made available as commodity aid and the rest 57 crore Taka as project aid. Half of the project aid will be utilised for financing the local cost of British-aided projects. The British Minister left Dhaka on March 11 after a five-day visit to Bangladesh.

Food Minister Air Vice-Marshal (Retd) A.G. Mammood while speaking on March 12 at the formal handing over ceremony of food godowns constructed under Japanese grant at Tejgaon Central Depot stated that the target of 18.21 lakh tons of food storage capacity during the current Five-Year Plan had already been achieved. After the completion of the on-going projects, the storage capacity is expected to go up to 19 lakh tons, he stated.

Bangladesh and India discussed on March 11 the possibility of expanding cooperation in private sector. The discussion was held when the visiting Indian trade delegation headed by Mr K.L. Modi met the members of Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The representatives of Dhaka Chamber called for increased volume of exports from Bangladesh to India in view of the existing unfavourable trade balance against Bangladesh.

President Ershad opened a conference of Deputy Commissioners at the Secretariat on March 10, calling upon the officials to work with devotion to implement the development programmes and the measures undertaken by the Government for smooth transition to democracy.

CSO: 4600/1694

## PAPER REPORTS INDUCTION OF FOUR NEW MINISTERS

### Not Everyone Satisfied

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] The induction of four new Ministers and a State Minister into the Cabinet on Thursday ended the month-long speculation on the politicalisation of the Cabinet.

The inclusion of Mr Shamsul Huda Choudhury, Dr M.A. Matin, Mr Shamsul Huq, Mr M.A. Huq as Ministers and Shafiqul Gani Swapan as State Minister from Janadal added political colour to the Cabinet so long composed of army and civil bureaucrats.

The inclusion of Mr M.A. Huq, former independent MP and a retired police officer was a surprise.

The induction of five Ministers from Janadal has failed to satisfy all the component groups within the party. The exclusion of Shah Moazzem Hussain and Abu Naser Khan Bhashani has created a sense of despondency within Janadal.

The initiative to form a broadbased Government backed political front has kept the opening for induction of some [word blurred] political personalities into the Cabinet. The formation of the front will be delayed because of the hard bargaining by some important political parties like Jatiya Jote and Okkya Front. Mr Ataur Rahman Khan who hinted earlier to join the front is negotiating on deferring the upazila elections. Without the participation of Mr Ataur Rahman Khan and Khandaker Mustaque Ahmed in the front, it will have little political impact.

Meanwhile, Mr Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury has been made Acting Chairman of Janadal and Mr Reazuddin Ahmed Bhola Miah been appointed Secretary General of the party.

Mr Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury who was to be inducted in the Cabinet has been given the task of organising the party and to conduct the Presidential election for the party nominee.



The political observers are sceptical of the gains the government had wanted to derive by politicalising the Cabinet. The inclusion of Janadal members in the Cabinet can give only a sense of confidence among the party ranks. This will help in no way to break the political stalemate, it is held.

#### List of New Ministers

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Mar 84 p 12

[Text] The four new Ministers and one State Minister appointed as members of the Council of Ministers on Wednesday were sworn in at a simple ceremony at Bangobhaban in Dhaka on Thursday afternoon, reports BSS.

President Lt Gen H.M. Ershad administered the oath of office at the Zia Hall.

The newly inducted Ministers are Mr Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, Dr M.A. Matin, Md Shamsul Hoq and Mr M.A. Haque, Mr Shafiqul Ghani (Swapan) has been included in the Council of Ministers as State Minister.

All the newly appointed Ministers are from Janadal.

The size of the Cabinet rose to 21 with the inclusion of the new Ministers and the State Minister.

The ceremony was attended by the Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators Rear Admiral M.A. Khan and Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud--Ministers and high civil and military officers. Mr Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, Acting Chairman and Mr Reazuddin Ahmed (Bhola Mia) Secretary General of Janadal were also present on the occasion.

Mr Shamsul Hoq was given the charge of Information Ministry while the Ministry of Planning went to Mr Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, Dr M.A. Matin got the charge of Ministry of Commerce and M.A. Huq has been made the Minister of Land Administration and Land Reforms.

Mr Shafiqul Ghani Swapan has been made State Minister in charge of Youth and Sports Ministry.

Sayed Najmuddin Hashim will remain as a Minister without portfolio.

CSO: 4600/1694

## BRIEFS

CHEMICAL WARFARE POLICY--New Delhi, March 15--India has condemned the use of chemical weapons in any conflict. It said the use was in clear violation of international conventions. A spokesman of the external affairs ministry was commenting on reports of the use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq war. The spokesman did not refer to any country responsible for it and said that India was awaiting the report of the UN mission sent to Iran in the wake of reports of use of chemical weapons in the conflict. [words blurred] said India's stand on the use of chemical weapons was well-known and the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, had expressed her views in this regard on several occasions. The spokesman said that all such reports and developments in relation to the Iraq-Iran war caused great anguish and underscored the imperative need for ending the war. He recalled the efforts made by the non-aligned movement under the leadership of Mrs Gandhi towards this end. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Mar 84 p 9]

NAGALAND MINISTER DEAD--Kohima, March 21 (UNI)--Nagaland's Public Health, Engineering, Transport and Communication Minister H. Sao Chang died here this morning after a protracted illness. He was 41 and is survived by his wife and a son. He was elected to the Nagaland Assembly from Tuensang Sadar constituency in 1974. He became a Minister the next year and retained his seat till his death. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 22 Mar 84 p 1]

MANEKA ELECTION PLANS--Jaipur, March 20--Mrs Maneka Gandhi, president of the Sanjay Vihar Manch, said here today that she was determined to contest the next Lok Sabha election from Amethi. She added that her party would contest 200 Lok Sabha seats. Talking to newsmen, she alleged that she and her partymen were being intimidated and subjected to pressures to dissuade them from contesting the elections. Members of the Manch were being "implicated in false cases." She said: "We will not be cowed down by threats and bullying tactics of the ruling party." Earlier addressing a public meeting here, she said her party was poised to play an important role in national politics and hoped that it would soon emerge as an all India party. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 84 p 12]

SOVIET DIPLOMAT ACCUSED--New Delhi, March 18--Despite denials by the Foreign Office, Mr P.N. Lekhi, a prominent lawyer and leading member of the Lawyers Association for Democracy has repeated his charge that a Soviet assistant military attache, Mr Nikolai I. Gololobov was asked to leave the country on February 27 on charges of spying. Mr Lekhi, who has sent telegrams to the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister, has insisted that the Government denial of the charge was not correct. According to Mr Lekhi, president of the Asian Lawyers' Legal Committee and a BJP leader, the Russian diplomat was trying to collect a classified letter to the Prime Minister from the Bangladesh President, General Ershad. Mr Lekhi has accused Mr Narasimha Rao of concealing the expulsion of the Soviet diplomat while replying to a question on the subject in Parliament on March 2. "You deliberately misled the public," Mr Lekhi has told the External Affairs Minister in a telegram. The Foreign Office spokesman had earlier this week denied the charge. He had said on the occasion that no Russian diplomat had been expelled as alleged. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Mar 84 p 4]

PRC INVITATION--Mr Ni Jhu Phu, a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of China and leader of the All China Federation of Trade Unions, has requested Mr Indrajit Gupta, general secretary of the CPI-sponsored AITUC to send an AITUC delegation to Beijing. The Chinese delegation is now in India at the invitation of the INTUC. The invitation by the Chinese delegation indicates, according to observers, a change in the Chinese attitude towards pro-Moscow organizations. In recent years, CPI (M) leaders and leaders of CITU, the CPI (M)-sponsored trade union body, have visited China. The six-member Chinese delegation, according to a BPTUC source, visited the AITUC office in Delhi on March 7. The delegation members made it clear that despite differences of opinion the two organizations should come closer. Mr Indrajit Gupta suggested that the Chinese Federation of Trade Unions join the World Federation of Trade Unions sponsored by the Soviet Union. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Mar 84 p 7]

BASU TO PRC--Calcutta, March 20--The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, will leave for Beijing on May 2 next at the invitation of the Chinese Association for Friendship with Other Countries.--PTI [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Mar 84 p 9]

CSO: 4600/1693

# U.S. BLAMED FOR LACK OF PROGRESS IN AFGHANISTAN

TA091155 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 8 Apr 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Who Is Aggravating the Undeclared War Against Afghanistan?"]

[Text] Dear compatriots: The UN secretary general's envoy has begun his third round of work aimed at settling the problems around Afghanistan. He is holding talks in Tehran, Kabul and Islamabad.

As we are aware, Afghanistan desires a political solution and normalization of relations with its neighboring countries through negotiations. However America, which has imposed an undeclared war on Afghanistan, is continuously preventing the achievement of an agreement in this connection. In fact, this war actually started after the victory of the Sawr Revolution. Afghanistan's overthrown feudalist and tribal ruling circle, protected by and with the participation of imperialist elements and regional reaction, launched an extensive armed struggle against Afghanistan's democratic system, a struggle it is actively pursuing. America is the main organizer and coordinator of this war.

Let us recall that in the summer of 1978, a NATO command symposium was held in the town of Antalya, at Washington's initiative, to review the situation in Afghanistan. At that time the CIA began to establish close ties with Afghan counterrevolutionaries who had gathered abroad. The first counterrevolutionary groups, who had been prepared on Pakistani territory with the active participation of U.S. advisers, were sent in that very summer of 1978 to Afghanistan to carry out sabotage. In the initial stage Washington's official circles strived to render their support for the Afghan counterrevolutionaries in a clandestine manner, but this could not conceal their plans.

Any U.S. deed in Afghanistan pursues three distinct aims: First, creating a break in the process of Afghanistan's national and democratic revolution, and installing the government of former feudalists and oppressors; second, transforming Afghanistan into an anti-Soviet military base; and third, creating an active base against Iran and other open member states to maintain the plundering interests of oil monopolies.

The main base for launching an undeclared war against free Afghanistan is Pakistan's territory. The CIA headquarters was transferred there from Tehran

in order to coordinate this war. The Afghan counterrevolutionaries' provision with money and arms takes place in Pakistan. With America's active assistance and support, Pakistan's northwestern region was turned into a huge base for aggression. In the camps of this region, murdering bands of Afghan saboteurs, after receiving the necessary military training under the command of U.S., Chinese and Pakistani advisers, are sent into Afghan territory. Egypt also actively participates in training and arming the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. All of us are aware of the subversive activities which take place in our homeland's territory against Afghanistan. Many of the Afghan counterrevolutionary groups are active in the territory of our country.

Simultaneously with these direct subversive activities, the Afghan counterrevolutionaries have organized a large-scale psychological war against Afghanistan. By resorting to rumors, slander and fake reports, they try to disturb the situation in the country. America and its allies, in order to accelerate subversive activities against Afghanistan and to centralize the forces of counterrevolutionary organizations, have provided these forces with technical propaganda facilities. On the international scene as well, America has launched an anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan tumult, and has exerted great efforts to impose on the United Nations a discussion of the so-called Afghan problem. This, in fact, is no more than flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan nation, and encroachment on the national rights of this nation to determine its destiny.

Amid conditions of unbridled propaganda against Afghanistan, which is being fanned by imperialism, the Afghan nation, patiently and sincerely, is showing its desire for seeking political solutions to the situation brought about around Afghanistan as a result of armed interventions by reactionary forces in the affairs of this country. The Afghan nation has presented a series of proposals relating to settling relations with Pakistan and Iran, and guaranteeing the cessation of armed aggression by America from abroad. The Afghan Government totally rejects any effort by outside forces to impose a way of life and the selection of a political system on the Afghan nation.

CSO: 4640/190

# ELECTIONS, AFGHAN REFUGEES, CONTROL OF BORDERS DISCUSSED

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 26 Feb 84 p 12

[Text] In a special interview with our correspondent Hojjat ol Eslam Nateq-Nuri minister of the interior replied to questions about the replacement and rotation of governors general, the date of the elections for the second session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, cooperation and relations between the Ministry of Information and the Interior Ministry, the biased propaganda by the communication media of the world oppressor regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran's treatment of the Afghans and the problem of border control.

In this interview, he announced that the date of the elections would be about 1 month after the election law is approved by both the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Council of Guardians and the Ministry of the Interior is informed of the fact. While denying the lies disseminated by the western and eastern propaganda trumpets regarding the expulsion of the Afghans or their dispatch to the war fronts, he called the Afghans, as brother and sister guests of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

## Reasons for the Rotation and Transfer of Governors General

In reply to our correspondent's first question regarding the replacement and rotation of governors general, he said:

"There are various reasons for the rotation or transfer of governors general. One of them is that after a governor general has been in a province for some time and has utilized all of his initiative and creativity on its affairs, he would naturally grow bored and weary. A rotation can provide him with a new environment that could bring about a new challenge for new initiatives and creativity. It is natural that this in itself would bring about a rise in productivity. Of course, the person who takes his place in the province with new thinking, ideas, and creativity, supplements the previous creativity." He continued: "Another and more frequent reason for transferring governors general is the fact that their increased capabilities can be utilized in larger and more expansive provinces."

The interior minister then cited political reasons and lack of harmony with the provincial organs and institutions as among some other reasons for transferring the nation's governors general. With reference to the rotation and



transfer of the former governor of Lorestan to East Azarbayjan, he said: "After engineer Taheri was chosen as the new governor general of Tehran, since the province of East Azarbayjan has special requirements and characteristics and is a sensitive region, we made inquiries that led us to conclude that engineer 'Abedini, who at the time was governor general of Lorestan, was the man suited for that post. We thought that with his attributes he could solve that region's problems and could function in harmony with other institutions of the province."

#### Praising the Sacrifices of the People of Lorestan

Hojjat ol Eslam Nateq-Nuri, while revealing that a new governor will be assigned to Lorestan in the future, referred to the existing perfect coordination and closeness among the organs and institutions of the province of Lorestan. And elaborating upon the heroic attributes and spiritual qualities of the people of Lorestan, he said: "The people of Lorestan, both before and after the victory of the revolution, rendered valuable services to the revolution. Before the victory of the revolution, the provinces of Lorestan was one of the provinces that bravely opposed the shah's regime and produced many martyrs. Likewise, following the revolution, these heroic people, who are represented by the armed tribes, wholeheartedly took their stand in the service of Islam and the revolution. You probably remember the welcome and support the tribes of Lorestan gave to the martyred Raja'i in the days of the fugitive Bani-Sadr and the martyrdom of Raja'i. Also, you should recall how they uprooted the counterrevolution in that province and were engaged in heavy fighting against it. Today, despite the fact that most of the population of the province of Lorestan is armed, we have no political problem with them. For they are believers in Islam and the Islamic revolution and they are in the service of the revolution. They also constitute a great number of our fighters on the battlefronts."

#### The Date of Majlis Elections

In reply to our next question regarding the precise date of elections, the interior minister said that it would depend on the final approval of the election law by the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Council of Guardians, and on the Ministry of Interior's being notified of it. He said: "The elections will be held about 1 month after the Interior Ministry has been informed and the necessary announcement has been made by that ministry."

#### Cooperation of the Interior Ministry With the Ministry of Intelligence

With regard to the relationship and the manner of cooperation of the Interior Ministry with the Ministry of Intelligence, he pointed out that the manner of such cooperation is determined by the law, and said: "After the formation of the Ministry of Intelligence all the intelligence forces shall be at the disposal of this ministry. All operational and law enforcement forces can be at the disposal of the Ministry of Intelligence as executors and enforcement officers. The type and manner of cooperation has been specified in the executive code."

## Condition of the Afghans in Iran

In reply to a question about propaganda put out by the propaganda trumpets of the world oppressor regarding the way the Afghans are treated by the Islamic Republic of Iran and their being expelled and sent to the front lines, he said that this kind of tendentious propaganda is not an unexpected event. He vigorously denied such reports and said that the policy and attitude of the Islamic Republic of Iran toward the Afghan brothers and sisters is an enlightened policy and entirely Islamic.

While enumerating the reasons for the plan to issue identity cards for the Afghans, he called it a device for identifying the spies and mercenaries connected with the superpowers. He further reiterated: "We would act with severity toward all rebel and Afghan elements having such connections."

## Border Control

In reply to another question regarding the border control problem Hojjat ol Eslam Nateq-Nuri stated that among the Ministry of the Interior's projects for closely controlling the Islamic Republic of Iran's 12,000 kilometers of borders, there were: The formation of border patrols by the gendarmerie, the creation of border-guard posts manned by forces from the committees and the gendarmerie, and the building of border roads to link up the guard posts. He said that all of them were part of the 7-year plan and the Interior Ministry's plan for the control of the borders. He added that in the current year, the Majlis had appropriated 300 million tomans, all of which had been used up. For the coming year a budget larger than last year's is envisaged for this important matter.

12541

CSO: 4640/131

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON TURKISH DIPLOMATS REPORTED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 29 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] Tehran (IRNA)--Two Turkish Embassy diplomats were injured one of them seriously in two assassination attempts here yesterday morning.

Hasan Oktem, first secretary of the Turkish Embassy here was shot and wounded by two armed men riding past him on a motorcycle, at 08:10 hours local time. Three bullets hit him in his abdomen, face, and shoulder. The terrorists managed to escape the scene, but by noon the Interior Ministry said here two suspects had been arrested in relation with the assassination attempts. Hasan Oktem was shot at while he was driving his car to the Turkish Embassy in downtown Tehran.

The second embassy official, Ismail Pamukcu, was shot wounded at 08:20 but in a different location at Africa Street in uptown Tehran. Pamukcu, an assistant military attache of the Turkish Embassy here is suffering from severe injuries to his head, and abdomen. He underwent a 4-hour surgical operation at highly equipped Shohada Hospital, the closest to the site of the incidents. His attending surgeon says he is now in a relatively better condition. He said, however, that the Turkish official is still in a coma.

Political Deputy of Foreign Ministry, Hussein Sheikh-oleslam, visited the two diplomats. He deplored the assassination attempt and expressed hope that the two Turkish officials would soon recover.

In related news one person said by the Interior Ministry to be a member of "a Secret Armenian Terrorist Group" was killed as a hand-made bomb went off in his hand at Fereshteh Street in uptown Tehran Tuesday night. He was about to place the bomb in the car of another Turkish Embassy member here.

CSO: 4600/483

PAPER COMMENTS ON CHEMICAL WARFARE, 'CONSERVATIVE POSITION OF U.N.'

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 28 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial by S. Moadab: "U.N. and Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] The four-man U.N. delegation composed of military experts from Australia, Sweden, Spain and Switzerland has presented a 28-page report to the United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. This report was prepared according to the observations of the U.N. team during their sejour in Iran from March 13-19, 1984. It begins with a short introduction by the U.N. Secretary General in which he condemns the use of chemical weapons. From page three to page 11 the report enters into detailed observation and is full of technical, biological and medical terms. Herein the experts have written about what they have seen on the battlefield and the hospitals, as well as their analysis of the undetonated bombs. On pages 11 and 12 a roundup is made and a short documentary resume is written confirming the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi forces against Iran.

Nevertheless, in the whole report only once is the word "Iraq" mentioned, while the condemnation of Dr. de Cuellar is something slightly more than lip service and lacks clarity in condemning Iraq. If we can believe an AFP report, U.S. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick has said "Certainly this report poses a serious and important problem." Also, according to the French news agency, the Russian representative has said: "I'm sorry. I've not read the report yet." And finally the Ba'athist Ambassador in New York indicated he had not yet read the report.

This is the second report prepared by teams of U.N. experts vis-a-vis the war imposed against the Islamic Revolution. The previous one was prepared by a U.N. team which came to Iran to ascertain if Iraq had bombed civilian targets here. Unfortunately this report was never issued. This prompted Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe to request a revelation of the findings in his speech at the last session of the General Assembly.

Of course we must thank the U.N. for having sent its personnel here on this fact finding mission. Still we must express our misgivings over the way in which the results have been published. We do not expect that the U.N. speaks only and always in our favor. What we want is an unbiased expression of the facts observed and a categorical decision by the U.N. for putting the

Ba'athist regime under pressure to cease the utilization of such weapons. Unfortunately the world has bitter experiences of the ineffectiveness of U.N. decisions. The racist regimes of Tel-Aviv and Pretoria have so violated the decisions condemning their anti-humanistic policies that we would doubt the Ba'athist regime would do otherwise. But the fact remains that the heavy responsibility of the U.N. and the great expectations of the world from this organization necessitates that it precisely executes its duty at this crucial moment.

As we have off-times stated if the U.N. and other international organizations do not clearly condemn the Baghdad regime for using chemical weapons, reason says that the danger of proliferation can threaten the world in the near future. The U.N. is the pivotal body for adopting a stern stand on this issue and through its influence force the Ba'athist regime in Baghdad to abandon the future usage of chemical weapons.

Though the U.N. team obviously hit the mark in their investigation, the U.N. itself has been almost timid in revealing bare facts and condemning Iraq by name. In fact the initiative to send the team to Iran was inspired by strong world public opinion pressure. When even the U.S. media are forced to lambast the Iraqi regime, the least one can expect from the U.N. is to see stronger criticism. Again, like the findings of the U.N. team sent to Iran on May 2, 1983 to investigate the savage bombardment of civilian targets by the Ba'athist regime, this time too the U.N. has not fully responded to the demand of world public opinion. In fact, prior to the dispatch of this last team a wave of propaganda against the Islamic Republic was started in the U.N. itself. What we should expect now is a new anti-Islamic Revolution campaign in the Western mass-media to neutralize the setback of the Ba'athist regime and its supporters over the chemical weapons issue. Already some counter-revolutionary elements have been in West European hospitals where the victims of these chemical weapons are hospitalized to say that they were the victims of torture in Iranian prisons.

Notwithstanding the conservative position of the U.N. in publishing the report, we welcome their initiative, though it was forced upon the organization by world public opinion. Whether the Ba'athist regime ceases and desists from this crime is a question one cannot simply answer.

CSO: 4600/482

PAPER DEMANDS 'OUTRIGHT CONDEMNATION OF IRAQI REGIME'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 27 Mar 84 p 1

[Article in "Message of Today" column: "Saddam's Crimes and World Silence"]

[Text] MUCH talk and comment has appeared in recent days and weeks on an end to the three-and-a-half-year long war imposed on Iran by the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. What distresses us so much is not the suggestion of arriving at a peace but on the manner it is being suggested to the Islamic Republic of Iran in various ways. And what amazes us more is the illogicality of the arguments brought forward to persuade the Islamic Republic to accept a one-sided peace.

The crux of the issue is the concern which world opinion through statements by those in high places and the media expresses at the loss of human lives and the waste of resources in what is looked upon as a long war of attrition. The immediate reasons are of course the fears that the Islamic Forces may, as we believe they of course will, ultimately surge through to bring the Iraqi regime to its very knees.

But in all this concern no conscientious regard seems to have been paid to Iran's call for justice in the whole scheme of things. It was evident beyond any reasonable doubt that Iraq has used chemical bombs in the fronts and even in attacks against civilians. A UN team which visited Iran recently, which has still to submit a full report on its findings and a number of nations either through their leaders or in their media have either explicitly, or by implication, pointed an accusing finger at Iraq for its contravention of international laws in using the obnoxious bombs decreed inhumane by the UN Charter and liable to concerted action against the party using it in any international conflict.

Our question is why there is no outright condemnation of the Iraqi regime when it flouts these laws so flagrantly? Why do these who ask for peace not name the aggressor instead of turning the whole story around to ask Iran to agree to peace? If there is a flagrant act considered unconscionable and immoral by all reputedly international and humane standards, then the matter is once and for all solved when the aggressor is named and asked to desist from such evil actions.



When the aggressor is named and the whole question of what crimes he has committed, what he has to pay to redeem himself, is brought out into the open and into the light, then the matter can be solved once and for all. If on the other hand, the Islamic Republic is dragged to a negotiating table to bow to demands it simply cannot accept after all that has been suffered by it, then what justice can be there?. What hopes of peace?.

The Islamic Republic let it be known has right from the start been convincingly and truly aware of the justness of its cause. It is this realisation, together with faith that righteousness and God who helps the righteous are always on its side, which has sustained its strength against an enemy who has been helped in a number of ways by forces inimical to the very truth and justice of Iran's cause.

Even at this stage we are most unhappy with the way in which the present issues of the Iraqi-imposed war are being used by world leaders and the media backing them to present one face to their peoples at home as righteous promoters of the cause of peace, as those against the use of unfair methods in war, while secretly condoning the most inhumane aggressions of a regime they know to be evil. Where then lies the good in all this?.

CSO: 4600/467

## DUTIES, AIMS, POLICIES OF GUARDS CORPS ELABORATED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 14 Feb 84 p 18

[Text] In an interview with the KEYHAN correspondent, Hojjat ol-Eslam Fazlollah Mahallati, the representative of the imam in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, provided comments regarding various topics such as the responsibilities of the Revolution Guards, the imam's representative's role in this organization, various facets and dimensions of the Revolution Guards Corps and their relationship with the theocratic rule, peculiarities of an ideological Revolution Guard, functions of the clergy in the Revolution Guards Corps, observance of the chain of command and the state of the imposed war by Iraq against Iran, future, implementation of the plan "At Your Service Khomeyni" and operation for the liberation of Jerusalem and its objectives.

## Responsibilities and Goals of Revolution Guards Corps:

Initially, in reference to the goals and responsibilities of the Revolution Guards Corps, he stated that the institution of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps is an organ affiliated with imam's leadership and its charter has been approved by the Majlis. Based upon this approved principle, the primary responsibilities of the Guards are the guarding of the Islamic Revolution and its gains, constant effort to realize divine desires and to have the supremacy of God's laws prevail, the strengthening of the defensive framework of the Islamic republic in cooperation with other armed forces, fight against internal counterrevolutionary elements, cooperation with other security and military forces whose framework is determined by the Supreme Defense Council, and creation of a 20-million-member army. After organizing the manpower resources, the Guards Corps has the responsibility to prepare them militarily and politically and maintain them on a standby status for the defense of the country. As necessary, the Revolution Guards Corps discharges its duties by providing order both in the cities and for the protection of our beloved Islamic nation's borders. Such responsibilities are approved by the Supreme Defense Council.

## Relationship Between Revolution Guards and Theocracy

During the discussion of the relationship between the Revolution Guard and the theocracy and concerning the topic of the Revolution Guards' position in implementing the theocratic structure of the Islamic republic, the

representative of the imam in the Revolution Guards Corps stated that it is the theocratic ruler who guides the revolution and the Revolution Guards Corps has the responsibility to protect this revolution. Ultimately this protection is conducted under the supervision of the theocratic ruler who is the commander in chief of all forces. Within the context of the responsibilities of the imam's representative in the Revolution Guards Corps, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahaloati said: Basically, the Revolution Guards Corps is administered by the principles and guidelines of the theocratic ruler and this institution's policy is supported by him. Therefore, the position of the imam's representative has been established to supervise the implementation of the imam's guidelines and this has been ratified by the Majlis. The imam's representative in the Revolution Guards Corps has two responsibilities; those which are delegated and approved by the Majlis and those which are delegated by the theocratic leadership. One of the responsibilities of the imam's representative, as listed in the Revolution Guards Corps' charter, is to approve the issues ratified by the Revolution Guards High Council. This council is composed of the imam's representative, the commander of the Revolution Guards Corps, the minister of the Revolution Guards Corps, the Central Headquarters and various other responsible units of the Guards Corps. Although a member of the Revolution Guards Corps High Council, the imam's representative has the authority to veto any decisions which is incompatible with Islamic doctrines or the imam's directions and orders. This forces the responsible authorities to review and reconsider such issues for compatibility and coherence to established guidelines. Other responsibilities of the imam's representative in the Revolution Guards Corps include the supervision of the training division, ideology division, and the Corps publication and propaganda division. He is also responsible for identifying and selecting an individual from amongst the clergy to supervise ideological training. He added that the training brochures that are prepared in the Revolution Guards Corps are approved by the imam's representative, and toward this objective a research office has been created in Qum which supervises the preparation of all teaching material as well as the production of programs for mass communication and publications in order to preclude any misguidance. Furthermore, the imam's representative has the authority to establish an office in all of Revolution Guards Corps units. Presently, in various provinces, members of the clergy are actively involved in the supervision of these offices. The responsibilities of these representatives consist of participation in provincial and district council meetings to act as observers and prepare reports on the councils' activities and decisions. They are under the control of the imam's representative's Central Office. In fact, consent and supervision of ideological and religious matters are the responsibility of the imam's representative in this institution and the responsibility for implementation of these entities are with the command center.

He added that the imam's representative in the Revolution Guard has two offices:

- 1 - The Supervision Office, which has the responsibility for overall supervision of the Corps affairs and decisions and which prepares reports for the imam's representative.

2 - The Political Office, which is charged with providing ideas, political analysis and the ideological development for Revolution Guards Corps members.

With regards to any violations by the Revolution Guards Corps members, he added that punishment for these violations are the responsibility of the Guards Corps prosecutor. However, there are a series of violations that are investigated within the Corps, such as purging regulations or discharging members, and disciplinary codes that are referred to the Command Center. Continuing his comments with reference to the various dimensions of this organ, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahallati said that the Corps is an ideological military organ and is responsible for protecting and defending Islam and the revolution. Therefore, this institution should be familiar with Islam; and for this reason, an ideological training unit has been established to meet the needs of the Corps members from ideological standpoint.

#### Party Affiliation Does Not Exist in the Guards Corps

He added that the Corps is not a political organ identified as a political party. However, a Corps member should have political perception and understanding. There are no political party, group, or team in the Corps. Every one is under the direction of and subordinate to the rule of theocracy; and it is for this reason that the imam stated that members of the Corps should not belong to any particular party or group. Therefore, an article has been added to the Corps charter in this respect to the effect that, from the political and ideological viewpoint, the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps is under the direction of and subordinate to the rule of theocracy; and it is independent of all parties and political groups. And that it must never acquire a party status and political identity in the society; and it must not function as a party or political organization. Therefore, the corps members are not authorized to gain membership in any party or political group or organization. Continuation of (such) membership shall result in their dismissal from the Corps.

The imam's representative then discussed the characteristics of an orthodox Revolution Guards Corps member by saying that a Revolution Guards Corps member is an individual who has enlisted in the Corps to discharge his duties; and his duties are the implementation of Islamic laws in relation to his beliefs in Islam and his devotion and sacrifice for the cause of Islam. Therefore, the activities and behavior of a Guards Corps member and his life at the war front is for God, not for material gains.

In reference to the role of the clergy and their activities in the Corps, the imam's representative stated that the Corps and the clergy are two organs that should move in harmony. Both of these organizations are headed by the imam, who is the highest ranking clergyman. The clergy and the Corps must be extensively interfaced; that is, the Corps should learn rationale and ideology and religion from the clergy and utilize their resources. He added that presently there are more than 250 clergy members in the Corps who are engaged in ideological training activities; and a number of others are responsible for certain duties in the military areas such as battalion commanders and combat leadership.

## Observance of the Chain of Command in the Guards Corps

In reference to the necessity of following the chain of command in the Corps, the imam's representative said that observance of the chain of command is necessary in every organization especially in the Corps and other law enforcement and military forces because organization and discipline would be meaningless without a chain of command. To maintain the chain of command and to observe order and total discipline in the Revolution Guards Corps is imperative and a religious obligation.

The order of the chain of command is as follows:

Imam's representative - commander of the Revolution Guards Corps - regional commanders - district commanders - base commanders - base (barrack) commanders.

Discussing the relationship of the Corps with liberation movements, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahallati stated that after the separation of the units movements from the Corps, there is no such responsibility for the corps anymore; and basically we have no physical contact with any such movements. Our only relationship is a spiritual one which the Islamic republic regime shares with all such movements and the oppressed of the world. And even those who have been sent to Lebanon are only authorized to engage in ideological activities.

## War and Its Future

With respect to the war situation and its future, he stated that this is a war between Islam and atheism which was started by the superpowers against Iran. We did not start this war; but because of their interests being in jeopardy, they encouraged Saddam to start aggression toward our Islamic homeland. However, despite providing Saddam with modern weapons, money and forces, Saddam was not able to be successful. It only revealed their support of Saddam's regime; and reached to a point where the United States sent its envoys to Baghdad. In this war, not only Saddam's position but also the conspiracy of the East and the West that are united to destroy Iran's Islamic Republic have been identified, and examples of such alliances are numerous. One example is the joint decision by the superpowers in the Security Council concerning Iraq's war against Iran in which these two superpowers' joint decision and vote on a single issue was an unprecedented event.

He added that we must stand against this aggression, and the essential purpose of the Corps, which has deployed all its forces in war, is to fight, to organize and mobilize its people and to arm all its revolutionary forces. God willing we will be victorious.

In reference to the imam's decree on Guards Corps members nonparticipation in the political parties and organizations, he stated that a number of Guard brothers who were members of Islamic parties resigned their membership and continued their cooperation with the Corps. In this regard, the Majlis also passed and approved an article in the Corps charter according to which Corps



members are independent of all parties and political organizations. Furthermore, following this decree, a followup committee comprised of the imam's representative, the command of the Guards Corps and the Corps prosecutor was established which is responsible to examine all complaints and reports regarding such organizations as cliques and special interest groups in the Corps and to fight against them if such cases are verified.

#### Duties of the Revolution Guards Corps Commander and the Revolution Guards Minister

Referring to the commander and the minister of the Guards Corps, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahallati said that articles that are approved in the Revolution Guard Supreme Council are submitted to the imam's representative in the Corps and, if they are not in violation of the law and the imam's guidelines, they are submitted to the command headquarters, which is required to implement its provisions. However, the Ministry is active in the areas of administration, finance, legal and parliamentary matters, as well as providing for and satisfying the Corps needs. Whatever requirement exists for food or other facilities the Revolution Guards Corps command would notify the ministry and the minister of the Guards Corps, who is in contact with the office of the prime minister and the Majlis, would acquire the necessary budget and make it available to the Revolution Guards Corps Command. The Revolution Guards High Council is responsible for coordination between the Revolution Guards Command Headquarters and the Ministry.

With regard to the duties of the Corps intelligence unit and its relationship with the Ministry of Intelligence, he stated that, according to the articles approved by the Majlis and the Revolution Guards Corps charter, it was decided that the responsibilities for internal security be assigned to an intelligence unit. However, pursuant to the approval of the Ministry of Intelligence Act, the intelligence and internal security units are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Intelligence; but until the formation of the Ministry of Intelligence, it will carry out its activities in the area of internal security. Upon formation of the Ministry of Intelligence the Corps will no longer be active in the area of internal security.

#### "At Your Service. Khomeyni" Plan

At the end of his interview with the KEYHAN correspondent, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahallati, the imam's representative in the Revolution Guards Corps talked about the necessity for and methods of implementing the "At Your Service, Khomeyni" Plan. He stated that the Revolution Guards Corps is charged with organizing and training a 20-million-member army, because it is the people who have to defend the Islamic republic during an enemy aggression. Therefore, for this reason, consequent to Imam Khomeyni's decree in defense of the nation, cries of "At Your Service, Khomeyni" were raised from every corner; and this plan, which has all the Islamic and religious dimensions, was named as such.



With classification of the training and experience of the Revolution Guards Corps acquired through the imposed war, it has recalled and organized the groups based upon their experience, and these groups exhibited their organization throughout country on 25-26 November 1983, the Revolution Guard's Day.

Although this mobilization and organization was somewhat delayed as a result of the imposed war; and due to lack of identification of certain specialized talents, some skilled resources and energies were wasted; but, with the implementation of the "At Your Service, Khomeyni" plan, the training forces were organized so that after establishing and classifying their skills, they would be available for their call of duty and assumption of responsibilities. As a result of the implementation of this plan the Islam will be insured and protected within a short period of time.

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CSO: 4640/128

## AMNESTY GRANTED TO PRISONERS ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS

Tehran HOMHURI-YE ESLAM: in Persian 15 Mar 84 p 15

/Text/ Due to the Nowruz season another group of prisoners were granted amnesty, on certain conditions, by His Eminence Imam Khomeyni. Hojjat ol-Eslam Moqteda'i, spokesman of the Supreme Judicial Council, yesterday afternoon in a press, radio and television conference, referring to the above-mentioned matter, gave details about the major work of the Supreme Judicial Council during the current week as follows:

Review of the cases, which in accordance with legal procedures, have been referred by the Ministry of Justice to the State Supreme Court; questions concerning religious and legal matters; review of cases submitted to the Supreme Judicial Council for review and establishment of criteria; accepting the resignation of Dr Asgari, minister of justice, with the Supreme Judicial Council expressing its gratitude for his endeavors; review of the plan devised by the Governor General and the Public Prosecutor of Tehran for religious admonition and prevention of prostitution and the means to prevent this vice; staff work in pursuance of the Imam's eight-point edict; and review of complaints received from the Board of Reconstruction and the Supreme Board of Supervision, which, considering the fact that these boards have been dissolved, require that in order to pursue this matter in the Administrative Judicial Council, a single article must be prepared and drafted by the Majlis and, pending legal resolution of this matter by the Majlis, and such matters must be suspended in the State Supreme Court for the time being.

Mr Moqteda'i, in this discussion, said 12 pieces of gold and jewelry have been received from women prisoners in Karaj, which are to be submitted to the fronts engaged in the battle of right against wrong. This endeavor of the prisoners has impressed the Council, which said that their aid to the fronts is in itself the greatest glory for the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr Moqteda'i added: "Because of the fifth anniversary of the Islamic Republic's victory and in appreciation of the recent victories of the combatants of Islam and the advent of the Nowruz, a circular has been prepared for the amnesty of prisoners, which has been approved by Iman

Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic, and all the courts are to take prompt action in this regard.

The contents of this circular are as follows: Circular to all public and military revolution courts.

All persons who, according to the sentences passed by the revolution public and military courts, have been sentenced and whose sentences have been issued up through 15 March 1983 and confirmed, and whose penalties range from incarceration and cash fines to compulsory residence are, due to the sixth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, subject to the amnesty proclaimed by the great leader of the revolution.

"A"

1. All persons who have been sentenced up to 6 months in prison and cash fines of up to 100,000 rials, or both, should this be their first conviction and if there are no private plaintiffs or, if so, having procured the consent of said plaintiffs, or if they have paid the fine to the government fund, will, in general, be released, whether they have been incarcerated in this regard or not.
2. All persons who have been convicted and sentenced to prison terms of 1 year or payment of 1 million rials in cash fines, or both, without having any private plaintiff and, if any, subject to procuring the consent of said plaintiff, or having paid the relevant fine to the government fund, will be entitled to the amnesty, subject to the condition that from a period of 1 year after the amnesty they do not commit crimes; otherwise their previous sentence will be carried out. Note: This article pertains also to those previously detained and arrested.
3. Those who have been sentenced to a maximum of 5 years of incarceration or payment of cash fines or fines of more than 1 million rials, or both, providing they have no private plaintiffs and, if so, subject to the condition that they procured the consent of said plaintiff, and having paid the fine to the government fund and having served one-third of their sentence, will be exempt from serving the rest of their sentence.
4. Those who have been sentenced to a maximum of 15 years of imprisonment or payment of cash fines or fines of more than 1 million rials, or both, providing they have no private plaintiffs and, if so, on the condition that they have procured the consent of said plaintiff, and having paid the fine to the government fund and having served one-fifth of their time, will be exempt from serving the rest of their sentence.
5. Those who have been sentenced to compulsory residence, subject to the condition that they have been sentenced to 3 months of compulsory residence, will be exempt from the rest of the sentence.

6. All those who have been convicted of addiction or possession of a maximum of 1 gram of heroin and 50 grams of opium or it's derivatives, subject to the condition that they have given up their addiction and the medical examiner has confirmed this, will be exempt from serving their sentence, so long as they are not vagrants.

7. All those who have been convicted of other crimes related to narcotics and are not subject to the above article, if the duration of their conviction does not exceed 5 years, subject to the condition that they have served one-fifth of their sentence and subject to the condition that they guarantee that they do not repeat their crimes, the remainder of their sentence will be exempted.

8. This amnesty extends to all those who have not been entitled to amnesty, and such entitlement is to the extent that it does not contradict the terms of this edict.

9. In all of the above cases, entitlement to the amnesty is for prisoners not charged with bad conduct and who have repented before prison officials and for whom the punishment handed out has had an effect--this to be determined by the prosecutor of the related court.

10. The above regulations should be met for children.

The crimes listed below are not subject to the amnesty:

1. Embezzlement and unlawful possession of government or private property.

2. Various kinds of armed robbery and related robberies and highway robberies.

3. Swindles.

4. Importation, manufacture and distribution of narcotics and their derivatives.

5. All crimes subject to the accentuation of the punishment for violating drivers approved in 1966.

6. Theft and purchase of stolen goods, in the case of those who had a conviction of more than 6 days.

7. Crimes related to members of groups who have waged war on God and who are corrupt and who have resorted to armed uprisings against the Islamic Republic, except in the case of those who have supported or those who have read articles in the public domain of said groups and have been sentenced to up to 1 year of imprisonment and whose repentance has been approved by the prosecutor executing the sentence and the Islamic judge.

8. Those who have been convicted in the revolution and military courts and are not subject to article 7 (B) will be subject to amnesty.

9. Entitlement to the amnesty, in general, for crimes where upon the consent of plaintiff said crime cannot be prosecuted, will depend on the consent of said plaintiff.

10. Promulgation of this edict by the media is considered an official proclamation: all the courts are duty bound to imply said amnesty regulations for all those who in accordance with this edict, are subject to its contents and must inform the office of amnesty of the steps and actions taken in this regard.

Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court

Abdol Karim Mussavi Ardebili

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CSO: 4640/164

## BRIEFS

**INCREASE IN SAVINGS LEVEL**--The total amount of savings by people in Iranian banks had reached 6,000 billion rials (\$68.2b), an increase of 25 percent to the latest figure for the current year. The governor of the Central Bank Dr Mohsen Nurbakhsh said here Sunday that the banks had signed some 300 billion rials (\$3.4lb) worth of Islamic transactions during the past 11 months. Dr Nurbakhsh said Islamic regulations were already being implemented by banks but they would replace all previous banking regulations officially from the beginning of the new Iranian year on 21 March. [Text] [GF011525 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Mar 84 p 2]

**AZARBAYJAN TELEPHONE LINES**--During post-revolutionary period some 136 villages of East Azarbayjan Province have been supplied with telephone lines. In addition a number of communication centers have been established in the villages of the province, said the director general of East Azarbayjan Province telecommunications department in Tabriz today. [Excerpt] [GF011525 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Mar 84 p 2]

**NATURAL GAS REVENUE**--Government revenues from oil and natural gas sales during the past 11 months (21 March 1983-19 February 1984) totalled 1,450 billion rials (\$16 billion) up by 150 billion rials (\$1.7 billion) compared to previous year, said the Minister of Economics and Financial Affairs Hoseyn Namazi in Mashhad on Monday. He further added that during the period the tax revenues of the government was 677 billion rials (\$7.6 billion) an increase by 360 billion rials (\$4 billion) in comparison with the previous year. The minister further added that the draft of the new tax bill has been submitted to the cabinet ministers and is expected to be approved by the Majlis by the end of the current Iranian year (20 March). In this bill higher taxes for the wealthy has been emphasized and those with low income will be exempted, he said. [Text] [GF011525 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Mar 84 p 2]

**YAZD TEXTILE OUTPUT**--Yazd, 7 March--Some 1,022,618 kilograms of various kinds of salvage clothing were produced in one of the textile factories here during the first 11 months of the current Iranian year (started 21 March 1983). This is equal to the total production of the Iranian year 1361 (21 March '82-20 March '83) and shows 25 percent increase in comparison with its previous years. Announcing this, a factory official said Tuesday that a daily average of 20,000 meters of various kinds of salvage clothing were being produced there. He added that previously the factory used a kind of printing machines which was totally



dependent upon foreign countries. However, he added, measures have been taken that new systems would be utilized during the first half of the forthcoming Iranian year (to start on 21 March) that would cut by 80 percent the foreign exchange dependency in this regard. [Text] [GF011525 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Mar 84 p 2]

TANKER TRANSPORT FIGURES--Tehran, 11 March--Oil tankers of the National Iranian Tanker Company have navigated about 355,533 nautical miles in a total of 289 journeys from 20 February 1983 until 19 February 1984. According to a report published by the Iranian Oil Ministry here today the tankers transported about 9,641,312 tons of various oils. [Text] [GF011525 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 12 Mar 84 p 2]

WAR ZONE LAND CULTIVATED--About 3,510 hectares of land in war stricken areas of Abadan and Khorramshahr were made ready for cultivation during the past 12 months of the current Iranian year (will end 20 March) by the reconstruction and Agricultural Renovation Group of Khuzestan Province. Also some 34 kms were dredged for irrigation and 10 kms of rural road constructed. Despite the fact that these two cities are under constant and daily Iraqi aerial and ground bombardment, reconstruction activities are still being carried out. [Text] [GF011525 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Mar 84 p 2]

PARS REFINERY INAUGURATED--Tehran--Pars oil refinery's automatic producing and filling unit of one and four-litre cans of motor oil was inaugurated last month in ceremonies attended by President Khamene'i's chief advisor, Mostafa Mirsalim, and some other officials. The Pars oil refinery managing director, Mohammadi, said that the annual production of oil in this refinery is 85 million litres, 35 million of which is produced in cans. The refinery also produces various types of motor oils, parafin, insecticides and grease. Speaking on the future plans of the refinery, the managing director said the refinery, which is affiliated to the nationalized industries organization, has two projects underway, one is to set up related firm in the industrial city of Saveh, central province, and the other to establish a motor oil plant with a capacity of 200 thousand tons a year in the city of Esfahan. [Text] [GF011525 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Mar 84 p 2]

TRIBAL COOPERATIVES--Kerman--Tribal cooperatives are playing a major role in helping the country meet its vegetable shortenings and wool requirements, as a result of purchasing of products made by tribes people. Managing director of the central union for tribal cooperatives, Mohammad Reza Basiri said here Wednesday that at present 22 provincial unions and 274 tribal cooperatives were purchasing surplus products from tribesmen while supplying them with necessities. An allotment of rials 300 million (\$3.4m) by the government and other rls 200 million (\$2.2m) by the agricultural bank has been put at the disposal of these unions. Basiri noted that over one million tribesmen were members of these unions and cooperatives, among whom were more than 2,000 live-stock experts. [Excerpts] [GF011525 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 11 Mar 84 p 2]

PORT CLEARANCE STATISTICS--Rasht, 10 March--Over 850,000 tons of various imported goods were discharged through Anzali Port, in north Iran during the current year. This shows an increase of about 50,000 tons in comparison with

the same period last year. A port and shipping official of Anzali said that the port has discharged goods more than its nominal capacity. The increase was gained without using extra manpower and presently shows three-fold increase in capacity compared with the years before the Islamic Revolution. He said that about 4,854 tons of goods were exported from the port during the current Iranian year (started 21 March 1983). Also, he said, about 219,989 cubic meters have been dredged out to facilitate navigation. [Text] [GF011556 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Mar 84 p 2]

TEHRAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS--Ten March--Some 906 developmental plans valued at rials 7.4 billion (484 m) were completed in Tehran during the current year by the executive branch, out of which 379 were carried out in villages and the rest in the needy areas of the province. Speaking at a press conference, on the 4-day seminar of governor generals, the governor general of Tehran, Hoseyn Taheri said out of the emergency budget put at the disposal of Tehran's governorate general in the current year, some 90 percent of the most urgent projects were carried out in the province out of which 65 percent took place in villages. Taheri further said that the main reason for the migration of villagers to cities, especially to Tehran, was lack of facilities in them. He added that Tehran's governorate general, in its turn, would provide facilities in the fields of health, education as well as agriculture as a way of curbing migration of villagers to the cities. [Text] [GF011556 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Mar 84 p 2]

RASHT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS--Rasht--Some \$11 million has been invested in 99 production and industrial units in Gilan Province during the current Iranian year (started 21 March 1983) and have provided jobs for 485 unemployed of the region. Also 75 industrial and manufacturing units with a capital of \$74 million, and capable of employing 2,258 persons have received establishment permits. Pars Shahab factories of Gilan have produced over 25 million electric bulbs and 5.86 million florescent bulbs during the 12-month period since 21 March 1983 an increase of 18 percent and 23 percent respectively as compared to production in the preceding year. Gilan manufacturing firm produced 7,452 million square feet of leather during the current year which showed an unprecedented production increase, during the 13 years history of the firm. Managing director of the plant said that the plant was established in 1971 by foreign experts and began functioning with an average daily production of 23,000 square feet. In the year 1979 its production was 6,654 million square feet. [Text] [GF011556 Tehran KEYAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Mar 84 p 8]

SEM NAN DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE--After the Islamic Revolution over rials 52,275 billion (\$594m) have been earmarked for establishment of 453 small and big indsutrial units throughout Semnan Province, a significant increase in comparison with the prerevolution period. The provincial director general industries, speaking on future plans and projects of the province, said that out of the 5453 units to be established, 134 were non-metallic, 34 nutritional and sugar processing firms, 31 medical and chemical, 19 wood and cellulose, 46 weaving and leather and 10 were electrical and electronics. [Text] [GF011556 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Mar 84 p 8]

YAZD LEAD OUTPUT--The lead and mine company of Kushk increased its output by some 10,000 tons during 21 March, 1983-29 February 1984, as compared to the similar period last year, thanks to the efforts to its workers and technicians. The official in charge of the said mining company, announcing this here Sunday said that a number of countries have so far agreed to purchase lead and zinc from the company, and a larger portion of the product would be shipped in the next few months to the purchasing countries. [Text] [GF011556 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Mar 84 p 8]

ESFAHAN STEEL, ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION--An executive official of the Mobarkeh steel plant near Esfahan said the 2.4 million ton capacity plant would gain \$1.80 billion annually when it is completed. Engineer 'Erfanian, the executive planning official for the project, said 25 contracts had been signed for the construction of the plant, 19 of them with an Italian company. Taking into consideration the financial and technical aspects of the project, he said the plant was expected to be completed in 1987. The regional electricity department of Esfahan, Yazd and Charmahal va Bakhtiari Provinces extended electric facilities to 51 villages during the Iranian month of Bahman (21 January-19 February). The regional electricity department supplied a total of 302 villages with electricity in the past 11 months. Some 21,625 families in these villages were benefited. [Text] [GF011556 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Mar 84 p 8]

CREDIT TO FARMERS--The Agricultural Bank has granted a total of 468,541 loans worth 145,700 billion rials (\$1.7 billion) during the first three quarters of the current Iranian year (to end 20 March) throughout the country. Out of the said sum 29.3 billion rials (\$350m) has been extended to farmers through the agricultural cooperatives and the rest directly by the bank. The loans were granted for promotion of agricultural work, livestock breeding and handicrafts. There has been an increase of 29.6 percent in the amount of loans granted as compared to the previous year. [Text] [GF011556 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Mar 84 p 8]

CSO: 4600/504

PRIME MINISTER SAID UNDER PRESSURE TO RESHUFFLE CABINET

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 27 Mar 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] Pressure is mounting on Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand to reshuffle the Ministry before the budget session of the Ratriya Panchayat begins sometime in June.

The Prime Minister is also said to be wanting to expand the strength of the ministry provided it is supported by some of his close colleagues.

Criticisms of the ministry for its failure to deliver the promised goods are becoming increasingly vehement. Opposition within the Panchayat system itself is gaining strength so much so that even some of its supporters in the House have turned into critics.

It is argued that the ministry has a fair chance of survival provided its base is broadened. Efforts are being made in this connection to win the support of the so-called moderates who are not hundred percent with Surya Bahadur Thapa.

This line is opposed by some of the strong members of the ministry. Besides, those who are being wooed are not convinced the ministry will last for long and they therefore are not inclined to come to its rescue.

One Chand supporter said the number of the Rashtriya Panchayat members backing the ministry is very small and unless Chand has a team dynamic enough to bring the path of no confidence move against him, facing the next session will be an uphill task for the Prime Minister.

Chand's close colleagues who enjoyed publicity, support and public appreciation for their criticism of Thapa and his policy last year do not have the same political influence at present. As ministers Pashupati, Prakash and Padma Sundar--"the famous P's of Mr. Clean"--could not provide good example.

Policies related to law and order, finance communications, supplies and other areas have failed badly over the last nine months. The economic programme has been proved abortive. So has the import policy. A cabinet reshuffle with stress on gaining support from all factions of the Panchayat system is the only alternative that the Prime Minister can pursue before he faces next session of the House, it is felt.

'CLEANING OPERATION' REPORTEDLY UNDERWAY IN GOVERNMENT MEDIA

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 29 Mar 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] Finance Minister Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani in an attempt to counter-act the criticism that he failed in making the government media loyal, is learnt to have asked his task force to devise ways to "clean the mess in Radio Nepal, RSS, Gorkhapatra and the Rising Nepal".

The task force has the impression that the government wire and print media are paid by the government but operated by forces opposed to the government. "A total overhaul of man-power engaged in the media will only be able to fulfill the wishes of the Communications Minister", say those watching the recent development.

Some senior panchas opine that the Communications Minister should be held accountable for a number of adverse press reports published in the government media during the visit of a dignitary of friendly country of Nepal recently.

"Dr. Lohani cannot escape moral responsibility from what appeared on the pages of the government-run papers and news bulletin, at that time" they say.

Details of Dr. Lohani's cleaning campaign are not yet known. But they will be introduced in the near future with a view to preparing atmosphere on the eve of the next session of the Rashtriya Panchayat.

CSO: 4600/486

## RISE IN TRADE DEFICIT DISCUSSED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 21 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Rameswar Acharya]

[Text]

Foreign Trade plays a very important and critical role in a small country like Nepal. Because of a limited internal market, surplus commodities have to be exported; and because of the limited variety and quantity of available natural resources, things that cannot be manufactured within the nation or can be manufactured only at a greater cost have to be imported. But the unsatisfactory growth in export and the fast rise in imports in the past have enlarged trade deficits. Therefore there is a great need to promote export benefits for the sake of our national economy. Thus, it is very essential to speed up the process of industrialization, so that processed and semiprocessed products could be exported and that imports could be reduced.

### The Figures

Production could not increase to any appreciable extent during the Fifth Plan (1975-80) period; exports

rose 5 percent per annum whereas imports expanded at the rate of 14.1 percent per annum. As a result, the size of trade gap continued to widen every year until it amounted to Rs. 2372.7 million by end of the Fifth Plan, compared with Rs. 930 million at the end of the Fourth Plan period (1970-75). Trade deficits increased during the Fifth Plan by 20.7 percent to Rs. 7120 million. Imports continued to rise rapidly at 14 percent while export growth was sluggish at 5 percent. India remained the single largest trading partner of Nepal accounting for 57.1 percent of imports and 58.4 percent of exports.

Trade deficits amounted to Rs. 2819.7 million in 1980-81, which was increase of 21.0 percent as compared to the previous year 1979-80, and it went up to Rs. 3438.8 million in 1981-82, representing an increase of 22.0 percent over the previous year 1980-81. Nepal's trade deficit accounted for a record 4975.3 million rupees in the

fiscal year 1982-83. According to the provisional figures released by the Trade Promotion Centre, a total foreign trade of Rs. 7237.38 million occurred during the fiscal year 1982-83, exports accounted for Rs. 1131.04 million as against import worth Rs. 6106.34 million. The financial year was, thus, the third consecutive year in the current Sixth Plan (1980-85) which consistently recorded a decline in the export figures. Total export in the same year fell by 23.2 percent and import rose by 27.6 percent, thus incurring a total deficit as high as 49.3 percent. One of the main reasons for the sharp rise in trade deficit is because of a market fall in overseas exports in the last fiscal year 1982-83 as compared to the preceeding year.

### Recent Growth

After a rather dismal performance in the fiscal year 1982-83 Nepalese overseas exports have taken a great leap forward in the first six months of the current fiscal year 1983-84 which began mid July last



year. Nepal's overseas exports between the period mid-July and mid-December of the year 1983 totalled 202.2 million, up from 120.1 million rupees in the corresponding period of the fiscal year 1982-83. It thus recorded an increase of over 68 percent. Leading items of the country's exports that recorded a tremendous increase include pulses, catechu, woollen carpets, leather and leather goods, wood and bamboo products and handicrafts. The total turnover from the export of carpets alone shot up to 120 million rupees as against 50 million in the first half of the fiscal year 1982-83. In quantitative terms carpet exports recorded a 120 percent increase while in terms of value of exports the increase was even higher than this 144 percent, which resulted in the carpet export proliferation of market prospects in the Western European countries.

The export of pulses has also recorded a phenomenal increase. The total turnover of exports in this commodity alone amounted to about 4.2 million rupees, up from 250 thousand rupees in the same period of 1982-83. Similarly exports of leather and leather products have

picked up remarkably. Other significant improvements were in the export of Nepalese indigenous paper and paper products. While a total of about 260 thousand rupees worth of Nepalese paper goods were exported in the period under reference, the total turnover during the same period this year has crossed the one million rupee mark.

Export of woollen carpets alone between November 1983 one when the nine point export promotion policy was announced by the His Majesty's Government on mid. February this year, reached the 80 million rupee mark. About 80 thousand square metres of Nepalese woollen mats were sold within the said 2 months period. The export of raw jute, large cardamom, tobacco, medicinal herbs and readymade garments has shown a negative trend in the first six months of the current fiscal year 1983-84 as compared to the same period of the fiscal year 1982-83.

### **New Policy**

HMG announced its new policy to boost exports and has set a target of achieving the 750 million rupees worth of total export within two years time

(1983/84-1984/85). The policy of providing ten percent cash incentives to all exports from the country announced in November 1983 is relevant. Thus HMG had adopted the policy of export promotion and trade diversification with a view to accelerating overall national development. Yet, foreign trade is having a very infavourable trend at present, the volume of import well over the volume of export. This reverse trend has to be corrected for the overall economic development. If adequate and appropriate measures are not taken, the task in future may be very difficult. Nepal had been facing a trade deficit, specially with India. The deficit had been widening year after year. The recent treaty provided Nepal access to the Indian Market. But experience had shown that Nepal's ability to sell manufactured goods to India depends to a great extent on India's willingness to accept them. Thus much responsibility lay with India to facilitate Nepal's balance of trade as well as Industrial expansion. □

**(The author is Assistant Secretary at the Federation of Nepalese Chambers of Commerce and Industry.)**

# STUDY RECOMMENDS CHANGE IN DEFINITION OF SMALL FARMER

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 25 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] The present definition of a small farmer as someone having annual average per capita income below 950 rupees based on the National Planning Commission's survey of 1978 needs to be revised in the light of new information.

A study on the role of the small farmer development programme in meeting basic human needs with special reference to the Dulari project in Morang district says "more than 94 per cent of the small farmers are found unable to meet their basic minimum needs with an annual average per capita income of 1523 rupees."

Rajeshwar Acharya, a Reader at CEDA, who has undertaken the study recommends a change in the definition of a small farmer from someone having an annual average per capita income below 950 rupees to someone earning 2,000 rupees a year.

Mr. Acharya suggested periodic revisions in this definition to reflect the rate of inflation.

"Inter-project visit programme must be undertaken to promote the feeling of "know and let know" among the small farmers of the Kingdom," the study also says.

Small farmers must be given independent plots of land to free them from the undue influence of landlords, the study added.

The present pre-requisite of purchasing shares of the ADB/N by the small farmers for being eligible for loans should be scrapped as this is an extra burden on them he says.

The study also recommends that in the event of crop failures for more than a year due to adverse climatic conditions, the small farmers should be given exemption of interest on the production loans and repayment deadline extended.

The Small Farmer Dulahi Project was undertaken in the year 1976-77. Initially it was introduced in two panchayats-Dulahi and Mrigaulia of Morang district. Until the middle of 1982-83, there were 49 small farmer groups including 6 women groups under this project.

**KARNALI PROJECT: COMMENTARY ON VIABILITY, WORLD BANK CREDIT**

**Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 26 Mar 84 p 2**

**[Editorial: "IDA Credit"]**

**[Text]**

The signing of an agreement between Nepal and the International Development Association (IDA), the soft-loan affiliate of the World Bank, in Washington the other day for a loan of 12 million dollars for undertaking a detailed feasibility survey of the first phase of the Karnali hydro-electric power project is an important development towards the utilisation of the vast potentials of the Karnali River. The loan agreement signed by the Water Resources and Supplies Minister, Mr. Pashupati Shumshere Rana and the World Bank Vice President will provide the necessary funding for the feasibility survey on the proposed dam to be built on the Karnali River at Chisapani as well as the power station. An earlier study of the site indicated that a high dam at Chisapani could produce as much as 3,600 megawatts of power. The Karnali project is important to Nepal in many ways including power generation and its possible sale, thereby generating revenue for the government. However, it is a mammoth project involving billions of rupees and hence proper studies have to be carried out before any concrete action on the project can be taken. The feasibility study to be carried out will indicate the economic viability of the project and on it, according to a World Bank report, will depend the decision of His Majesty's Government whether to go ahead with the project or not. Apart from the feasibility survey, it has been

indicated earlier that the designing of the project including the high dam will cost as much as 30 million additional dollars which the World Bank is again likely to provide as credit. This apart, the present loan will also finance a feasibility survey of a smaller dam upstream.

Though indicating varying installed power capacities, two previous surveys of the project have established the viability of the project. Hence there is every reason to believe that the proposed feasibility survey would form the firm basis for undertaking the project. Yet the project is too huge to be possible through single source of financing. The Karnali project, thus, would require multiple sources of funding. Though several countries have assured Nepal of their willingness to assist in the development of its water resources, further efforts should be made at all levels to secure firm commitments for the Karnali project. In this regard, the talks Water Resources and Supplies Minister had in Washington, D.C., with American politicians and senior officials should be regarded as significant as the United States is one of the key countries pledging support for the construction of the Karnali project. The Karnali project because of its potential to fulfil power needs of the country as well as for exporting power ranks high in Nepal's long term strategy for utilising its water resources for the welfare of the people. Because of its very nature, the Karnali project will have a profound impact on the Nepalese economy and as such every effort ought to be made from all quarters to begin the actual implementation of the project as soon as technically possible. The Seventh Plan period could be an ideal time to concentrate on the construction of the project that should bring in prosperity to the country in general and the Far Western Development Region in particular.

## BRIEFS

AGREEMENT ON KARNALI PROJECT--An agreement under which the International Development Association (IDA) will provide 12 million US dollars to Nepal for detailed feasibility study for the first phase of the Karnali hydro-electricity project was signed in Washington, D.C. Thursday. Minister for Water Resources and Supplies Pushupati Shumshere Rana signed the agreement on behalf of His Majesty's Government while Vice-President of World Bank, David Hopper, signed it on behalf of the Bank, according to the Water Resources Ministry. According to authoritative sources, Minister for Water Resources and Supplies, Pashupati Shumshere J. B. R., met Senator Russell Long in Washington, and afterwards Minister of Interior William P. Clark and USAID Administrator Peter McPharson and held talks with them on the subject of expanding economic cooperation between Nepal and the United States of America. [Text] [Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 24 Mar 84 p 1]

STATISTICS ON MOTHER TONGUES--Nepali is the mother tongue of 87,67,361 persons out of 1,50,22,839, the total population of Nepal. According to the census results of 1981, those speaking Maithili are 16,68,309, Bhojpuri 11,42,805, Tharu speaking 5,45,685, Tamang speaking 5,22,416 and Newari speaking 4,48,746. Those with Abadhi language as mother tongue are 2,34,343, Rai Kirati 2,21,353, Magar 2,12,681, Gurung 1,74,464, and Limbu 1,29,234. Those with Bhote-Sherpa mother tongue are 73,589, Rajbanshi 59,383, Satar 22,403, Danuwar 13,522, Sunuwar 10,650, Santhan 5,804, Thakali 5,289 and those with other languages as mother tongue 7,64,802. [Text] [Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 25 Mar 84 p 11]

FOREIGN BANK IN NEPAL--One bank of Dubai in the Middle East is learnt to have received a formal "go ahead" signal for full-fledged operation in Nepal. The bank will carry out transactions in this country in the name of Nepal Arab Bank which will be basically a joint venture private limited exercise say some people who believe the bank will begin functioning in the near future. It will be the first joint venture in Nepal in the banking sector. Some of the candidates applying for the job in the bank were interviewed at Tahachal to-day. It might be recalled that the necessity of a foreign bank in Nepal was felt a few years ago. A study was undertaken by the Nepal Rashtra Bank in the Kingdom and it recommended during Thapa's time that such a bank be put in the country. [Text] [Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 27 Mar 84 pp 1, 4]

STATISTICS ON HINDUS, NON-HINDUS--Non-Hindus constitute only 10.5 per cent of the total population of the kingdom of Nepal, the only Hindu country in the world. Hindus make up 89.5 per cent of the total population of the country. Statistics is based on the national census taken two years ago. Buddhists constitute only 5.3 per cent, Islam 2.7 per cent and others 2.5 per cent. [Text] [Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 22 Mar 84 p 1]

JAMAAT SAID NOT SERIOUS ABOUT JOINING MRD

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Apr 84 p 8

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text] PESHAWAR, April 1: The Provincial President of the defunct PML (Pagara group) Mian Mohammad Iqbal has said that the Jamaat-e-Islami was not at all interested in getting into the MRD fold nor he believed the latter had considered such a possibility seriously.

Talking to newsmen here today he said that the sudden change in the Jamaat's attitude towards the Government and the MRD was a part of her strategy to pressurise the regime so that it could be called upon to share authority. The PPP and the Jamaat had no soft corner for each other and the same was true about the Jamaat's relationship with the NDP. Any statements to the contrary, he said, were only for public consumption otherwise they did not really meant it.

The PML leader replying to a question said that his party was demanding a share in the present Government just to hold the elections on party basis under the 1973 Constitution because the shape of things in and around the country was so bad that it was neither possible for the Government to hold the elections nor did it intend doing so. He claimed that the PML's suggestion of being made an effective partner in the regime had not been opposed by any political party nor would they ever do so because they would be prepared to accept the Muslim League as the lesser evil. Chances of the Muslim League dream coming true, he said, were very remote but in case it did, its first task would be to dissolve the provincial and federal councils. That might sound hypothetical, but added that his party deserved to be considered rather seriously for that position because of being the creator of Pakistan and its "mass following in all the provinces". The PML, he said, could hold the elections on the basis of one man, one vote within one and a half year of being called upon to share the responsibility.

Commenting on some of the recent statements of the President on the shape and schedule of the national elections, Mian Iqbal said that these were adding to the confusion and uncertainty. For the President, he observed, there were only three options in the existing situation. These were to maintain the status quo as far as possible, hold elections on party basis under the 1973 Constitution, or share power with the Muslim League. Asked



to elaborate the effective share, he said: "Pir Pagara would like his men to be treated as ministers and not as deputy secretaries".

He said that for the Muslim League there was no likeminded party as the parties were either right or left while the PML was a middle roader.

CSO: 4600/497

# CEMENT PLANTS IN NORTH YEMEN 'ON TURNKEY BASIS'

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 1 Apr 84 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 31: Federal Minister for Industries Illahi Bukhsh Soomro said today that Pakistan would set up cement plants in North Yemen on turn key basis.

He was talking to newsmen on his arrival from Sana'a, after attending the ninth solidarity conference, sponsored by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO).

The Pakistan, he said would also extend all-help to establish industries in various fields, including agriculture, engineering and the construction material. Pakistan had extended an open offer to North Yemen to seek any sort of cooperation in any field, he said adding Islamic Development Bank had also shown its willingness to finance such projects.

Identifying other areas of cooperation, Soomro said that dialogues between the two countries were in progress to start air service for better communications.

Referring to the Yemenese people impression about process of Islamisation, he said that they thought Pakistan had to play a leading role in the Islamic World.

The Minister said that Pakistan attached great importance to its relations with North Yemen and the present visit, which was followed by the visit of Pakistan's Economic Affairs Secretary-General would help further improve brotherly relations, lasting between the two countries. "I will submit a detailed report of my visit to the President, who was keen to extend all help to Yemen", the Minister said.

Replying a question, he said that on conclusion of the conference, a bureau, headed by North Yemen was created in order to finalise recommendations and to ensure follow up measure. Pakistan, he said, was elected its one of the vice chairmen like Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Bangladesh and Iraq.

In reply to another question, the Minister said that a good number of Pakistani doctors, engineers and other professionals were serving in North Yemen. They had very good relations with their Yemeni brothers and avenues of further cooperation were bright, he added.—APP.

# ALL-PARTY TALKS ON RESTORING 1973 CONSTITUTION PLANNED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 4 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Prof. Shah Farid-ul-Haq, Deputy Secretary General of the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan, met Mr. S.M. Zafar, Secretary General of the PML and Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Acting Chairman of the Tehrik-i Istiqlal on Tuesday and handed them over the JUP's draft for a consensus of all political parties on one point, namely the restoration of 1973 Constitution.

Prof. Shah Farid-ul-Haq told newsmen during an informal chat that he had handed over the JUP's draft to some leaders in Islamabad including Mr. Wardak of T.I. He said that his meeting with Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri in Lahore lasted over an hour and while Mr. Qasuri expressed his full agreement with the one-point programme he would submit the draft for the approval of his party.

Lt.-Gen. (Retd) K.M. Azhar, Malik Akbar Saqi and Pir Ejaz Ahmed Hashmi accompanied their Deputy Secretary General when he met both Mr. Qasuri and Mr. Zafar. Mr. S.M. Zafar said late that he had received the one-point draft for onward transmission to his president, the Pir Sahib of Pagaro.

Prof. Shah Farid-ul-Haq said that he was on a probing mission and would report to his President Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, about the results of his mission. He disclosed that an all-party conference to forge a united front on one point would be held during the current month. He said that he had already met Mr. Bizenjo and Mr. Mashir Pesh Imam and would meet Maulana Imrooti of MRD on his return. He pointed out that MRD parties could come to the proposed conference individually or collectively.

Prof. Haq is scheduled to leave Lahore for Karachi on Thursday. During his stay in the city he is expected to call on Mian Tufail Mohammad, Amir Jamaat-e-Islami Mir Ghaus Bux Bizenjo who is expected in Lahore in connection with his party's central Executive Committee meeting and Mr. Merai Khalid. On return to Karachi he will meet the PML president, the Pir Sahib of Pagaro.

CSO: 4600/481

W. GERMANY SAID READY TO FINANCE PROJECTS

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 1 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Lahore, March 31--The Water and Power Development Authority has placed top priority on the construction of 400 mw gas turbine power station at Kot Addu so that more power was available to WAPDA's generation system as early as possible.

This was disclosed by WAPDA's member (power) Muhammad Ayub Sadozai during his discussion with Chief of the Pakistan Desk in the Federal German Government Hedit, who called on him this morning at WAPDA House.

According to WAPDA plan, four gas turbines of 100 mw each are to be installed at the Kot Addu gas turbine power station at the estimated cost of Rs. 2,600 million, with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 1,465 million.

The West German aid giving agency, KFW, has offered to finance the foreign exchange cost of two of the four gas turbine units.

A 220 kv grid stations would also be constructed at Kot Addu for the transmission of electricity generated at the proposed Kot Addu gas turbine power station. The Federal Republic of Germany is also considering to provide a sum of US dollars 80 million for the supply of generators for the extension project of Tarbela Dam.--PPI.

CSO: 4600/480

PAKISTAN TO SEEK INCREASE IN CONSORTIUM AID

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 4 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, April 3--Pakistan would seek a 10 per cent increase in the quantum of aid from the consortium countries at the ensuing two-day meeting of Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium to be held in Paris on April 11 and 12.

This was stated here today by Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq, the Federal Minister for Planning and Development, while briefing the ambassadors of consortium countries based here about the aid requirements of Pakistan in the context of its development strategies as outlined in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The Minister said that he will personally lead the Pakistan delegation to the consortium and will be assisted by Mr. Ejaz Ahmad Naik, Secretary General, Economic Affairs Division and Mr. Munir Hussain, Secretary States and Frontier Regions Division and other senior officials.

The Minister said that last year Pakistan received aid commitments from the consortium countries amounting to Rs. 1,492 million dollars. During 1984-85, the need to implement development priorities of the Sixth Plan particularly projects in education, health, energy and social sectors would require at least a 10 per cent increase in the aid on a commitment basis.

About 18 Ambassadors of various countries as well as high officials of foreign embassies attended the crowded briefing. Prominent among them were the Ambassadors of Belgium, United Kingdom, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, USA, Norway, Chief Resident Mission of the World Bank, Resident Representative UNDP, Director U.S. AID etc.

The Planning Minister emphasised the need for focussing attention on the net aid assistance available to Pakistan. The Minister explained that the net assistance refers to the portion which is available to Pakistan after deducting from the total assistance the amount of principal debt repayment. He reminded the consortium Ambassadors that the net assistance to Pakistan has been declining for a number of years and by 1981-82 it had come down to a figure of dollar 520 million.

Pakistan, the Minister said, had been pointing out the need to increase sufficiently the total commitment of assistance so that after repayment of

debt, the net assistance could also show some improvements. Consequently, the Minister added, the consortium countries responded positively and in 1982-83, net assistance improved to dollar 702 million. Unfortunately, the Minister continued, it appears that during 1983-84 there may again be a decline in net assistance. The latest estimates show that the net assistance is likely to stand at dollar 576 million during 1983-84, which again emphasises the need for making an effort to improve the situation.

The Minister also pointed out that the improvement in net assistance can come quickly if the entire assistance is not tied to projects but made available for the purchase of essential raw material, components and equipments. A proper mixing of project and non-project aid is essential both to improve the net aid inflow and for avoiding unnecessary buildup of the aid pipeline.

The Minister assured that Pakistan on its part is intensifying its effort to expedite the utilisation of the assistance which has already been committed. For this purpose simplification of procedures has been adopted. A similar flexible approach on the part of donors of foreign assistance would be of great help, the Minister added.

The Minister further assured the donors that the assistance provided by the consortium countries is being utilised effectively. This is reflected in the satisfactory growth performance of the economy. He said that despite the severe set-back in agriculture during the current year, the economy has managed to record a growth rate which may be close to five per cent.

The briefing was followed by a question-answer session during which various Ambassadors made searching queries on Pakistan's aid requirements and development projects in various sectors.--PPI.

CSO: 4600/481



GERMAN AID FOR TRAINING PAKISTANI ENGINEERS

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Apr 84 p 10

[Text] Faisalabad, April 1--The Pakistan Government and West Germany have entered into a long-term programme for training power engineers and technicians for which Germany has granted an interest-free assistance to a tune of 10.6 million marks.

An official source of WAPDA said this highly-sophisticated equipment shall be installed at Faisalabad. This power system simulator, the most advanced training equipment in the world, will be installed at WAPDA training institute by next year.

The source said the engineers and technicians of WAPDA will be trained with the help of simulator, specially in disciplines relating to power generation, transmission and distribution, so as to minimise consumers' problems and regularise the supply.

It was learnt that the simulator also helps to ensure optimum use of fuel, thus saving lakhs of rupees by using optimum combustion operation conditions. The senior engineers of WAPDA would be trained first.

The programme would promote the ties between the two countries, opening up new vistas for Pakistani engineers in the country.

The Director-General, WAPDA (Training), said this novel installation of simulator would be a unique and remarkable work. The full operation of the system will take three to four years, he added.--APP.

CSO: 4600/481

## PRIVATE AIRLINE PLAN SHELVED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 29 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 28: The proposal to have an airline in the private sector has been reportedly sent to the cold storage by the relevant departments.

A few years ago when the Government expressed its desire to sanction an airline in the private sector a few parties submitted their applications and also feasibility reports. The concerned departments were not sure even at that time as to what kind of airline should be allowed to be established in the private sector.

First there was a scheme to grant sanction to the PAF's Shaheen Foundation to set up a small airline. For to one reason or the other the Shaheen Foundation expressed its inability to set up an airline of its own.

Later there was a debate to set up a federal airline to cater to the needs of those passengers who hail from the areas like Abbottabad, Mardan, Kohat, Muzaffarabad, Mirpur, Jhelum Gujrat, Wazirabad, Sialkot, Sahiwal, Okara, D.G. Khan and other smaller towns of Sindh and Baluchistan. The idea to have federal service, with small two-engine planes, was to lift passengers from smaller towns to the

main airports. This proposal was not found feasible by some officials, therefore scrapped.

The idea to have another airline in the country again gained ground when the Federal Minister for Planning and Development Dr. Mahbubul Haq spelt out the country's communications requirements within the frame work of 6th Five-Year Plan.

At the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meeting, held in Paris last May, Dr. Haq categorically said that during the 6th Five-Year Plan the Government would encourage the establishment of private airlines and shipping companies. He argued that the decision to introduce the concept of private airlines was primarily aimed at facilitating the passengers and creating an atmosphere of competition in the field of civil aviation as well.

Those who had submitted their applications and feasibility reports for the establishment of private airlines in the country are now wondering what should be done. It is learnt that the Defence Ministry has scrapped the proposal in order to keep the monopoly of PIA over domestic and international routes.

# INDUSTRIAL POLICY DRAFT SENT TO PLANNING COMMISSION

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 1 Apr 84 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 31: The much debated and much awaited Rs.100 billion national industrial policy has been prepared by the Ministry of Industries and sent to the Planning Commission, the Federal Minister for Industries Elahi Bux Soomro told the BUSINESS RECORDER in the cafeteria of the Federal Advisory Council today.

He said that there was no delay from his ministry "But since the industrial policy was to be incorporated in the 6th Five-Year Plan", he said adding, "now it was upto the Planning Commission and other relevant ministries to consider it. He said these ministries are expected to announce the policy. He, however, expressed his inability to comment as to why the announcement of the industrial policy was being delayed.

"In my opinion perhaps the announcement of the policy was being delayed due to the lack of funds and lack of infrastructure", the Minister commented.

Meanwhile, it is further learnt that the Finance Minister would chair a meeting of the Federal Ministers of Industries, Production, Planning and Development and also the officials from the Finance Ministry, to review the draft of the industrial policy. Following its review at the four-ministers meeting, the draft of the industrial policy would be sent to the Economic Committee of the Cabinet.

CSO: 4600/480

## SCIENCE COMMISSION CONSTITUTED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 1 Apr 84 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 31: The constitution of National Commission for Science and Technology was announced here today.

According to a spokesman of the Ministry of Science and Technology the President would be the Chairman of the National Commission for Science and Technology while other members would be the Federal Ministers in-charge of Science and Technology; Finance and Planning and Development. Three other federal ministers will be nominated by the President while a Provincial Minister from each province will be nominated by the Governor.

The Pakistan Engineering Council, the Pakistan Medical and Dental Council, the University Grants Commission, the Pakistan Agricultural Research Council, the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, the Advisory Council for Science and Technology, the Pakistan Academy of Sciences, the Space

and Upper Atmosphere Research Committee, and the Defence Science and Technology Organisation, will also be members of the Commission.

Other members of the Commission will be four eminent scientists or technologists, two representatives of user organisations of science and technology, and the Secretary, Ministry of Science and Technology (Member/Secretary).

The functions of the Commission shall include coordination of inter-ministerial and inter-provincial science and technology programmes, ensuring proper linkage of science and technology effort with the production sector and development plans, consideration of major projects or programmes of science and technology sector, and, half-yearly review of progress indicating not only the achievements but failures with reference to targets clearly identifying the bottlenecks. —PPI.

CSO: 4600/480

REFUGEES' ENTRY FROM IRAN BANNED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Apr 84 p 8

[Text] QUETTA, April 1: The Government of Baluchistan has imposed a ban on the entry of Afghan refugees coming from Iran, the provincial Home Department sources told "The Muslim" here today.

According to these sources, about 5,000 Afghan refugees had cross the border during the last three months and this influx was continuing.

In the meantime, the Afghan refugees sources have confirmed that more than 50,000 Afghan refugees are willing to migrate to Pakistan.

The official sources said the Govt. was compelled to impose such ban and added, 'We are already receiving Afghan refugees who are coming from their homeland.'

However, these sources denied reports that beside Afghan refutees many Iranian nationals are also migrating to Pakistan. They said, 'no Iranian national has asylum here in Pakistan.'

They said people of Iran come here as normal travellers like others.

According to sources close to the Afghan Refugees Commissioner so far 30,000 Afghan refugees have entered Baluchistan in the last three months, and with the start of summer season the influx might increase.

These sources also denied its reports that 'Govt. of Pakistan was stopping refugees who wanted to be repatriated to their home and added, 'The influx of refugees is increasing every month and there is no on ban on refugees wanting to return to their country.'

CSO: 4600/497

BRITISH GENERAL'S REMARKS SAID TO INFURIATE AUDIENCE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Apr 84 p 8

[Article by Nusrat Javeed]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, April 1: General Sir Walter Walker, former Commander of the NATO forces, today accused the Soviet Union of sponsoring international terrorism to achieve its objectives. He was lecturing on 'Terrorism as a new form of Warfare' at the Institute of Strategic Studies here.

The General who served Her Majesty's government in counter-insurgency operations in Malaya, Burnei, Ireland and Colonial expeditions in NWFP, claimed that the Soviet Union had realised that involvement in conventional wars would ultimately lead to a risk of nuclear conflict with the democratic world. Therefore, he added, it was manipulating the terrorist movements in the world 'through her proxies to destabilise the free world.'

He described the PLO, Syria, Libya, Iran, South Yemen, SWAPO and African National Congress as instruments in the hands of Soviet intelligence and security agencies.

The General also alleged that the killing of U.S. and French marines in Beirut was engineered by USSR with the help of Syria and Bulgaria. He claimed that before these attacks, the Syrian President secretly visited Moscow to see Andropov on the eve of his trip to Sofia. Here, he claimed, a strategy was adopted which aimed at exploiting the 1.2 million Shias of Lebanon against the 'democratic world'. He claimed that the Shias of Lebanon were being duped with ideologies which convinced them that 'Allah was waiting for them in heavens.'

The General also alleged that Syrians are operating training camps on their territory where Shias from Lebanon are being trained by Bulgarians and equipped by the Russians. He said that 500 'fanatics' had completed training and it is planned that around 12,000 Shias would be trained to continue their suicidal acts in Lebanon.

He condemned PLO as another client organisation of KGB which used to have camps in Beirut where terrorists from all over the world were trained. To prove his claim, he referred to the 'facts' discovered by Israelis during their invasion of Lebanon in 1982.



He said that the United States of America was the Enemy No. 1 of the 'fanatics and terrorists' as it was the symbol of democracy and the mainland of the 'free world.' He found Libya and Iran working consistently to create problems against that symbol.

He claimed that Iranians and Libyans were also operating in Britain where people were being hired to spread the menace of terrorism in the world.

The General opined that the terrorists would now try to organise acts of terrorism in the USA, particularly during the Olympic Games and the conventions of Democratic and Republican parties.

He said that Washington was particularly concerned about the emerging trends of 'Shia fanaticism' Shia guerillas might try to steal sophisticated weapons from Europe. To avert such a danger, he added, USA had already sanctioned 35 million dollars to tighten security at its based in Europe.

The General's lecture infuriated most of audience. They reminded him that PLO was recognised as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by the Muslim world and it was outrageous to describe that organisation as a mere instrument of terrorism playing in the hands of the Soviet Union.

He was also told that the Islamic Republic of Iran had consistently proved through its acts that it was not a tool in the hands of the USSR nor, they reminded him, was Syria a client state of the Soviet Union--a fact acknowledged even by Dr. Brzezinski during his recent visit to Pakistan.

The members of the audience informed the General that the people of Pakistan considered organisations like SWAPO and African National Congress as genuine national liberation movements struggling against alien forces occupying their lands. They said South Africa and Israel were the biggest terrorists in the world and it was their chauvinist and racist approach which had compelled the African and Palestinian peoples to resort to militant struggle to counter the repression unleashed against them.

His attention was also drawn to numerous acts of sabotage and killing committed by the CIA to topple popular regimes in the Third World.

The General listened in grim silence and declined to comment back.

CSO: 4600/497

## PROSPECTS FOR POWER FOR DISTANT AREAS EXAMINED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 11 Apr 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Power for Distant Areas"]

[Text] While inaugurating the Tarbela-Jamshoro transmission line the other day, the President made a number of points which need to be appreciated in the perspective of the overall energy requirements of the country and also in the context of the balance which is sought to be maintained between the development needs of one area and another. The first point was that Sind now generates about 1673 megawatts of electricity which is one-third of the national power production. And this is expected to be raised further to 43 per cent of the total national power production by 1988. The second point was that while the north (Punjab and NWFP) would supply electricity to the south of the country during summer, when it has a surplus of power, the south (Karachi and Sind) would be in a position to supply power to the north during winter through the national grid. The rate of consumption of electricity rises in the north, but its capacity to meet the requirement gets reduced because of the lower availability of water in the rivers and the dams for hydel power generation. What greater proof, if a proof was needed, could be there of the economic interdependence of the various regions of Pakistan. The Tarbela-Jamshoro transmission line, which spans the three provinces of N.W.F.P., Punjab and Sind, has therefore rightly been termed as symbolic of our national unity.

Other information has also become known because of the interest that a project of this magnitude was bound to create. A 500 k.v. line, for example, was installed for the first time in the world only 24 years ago in USSR. The Tarbela-Jamshoro line is the first of its kind (barring Japan) in Asia. Again, the installation of this line, which was done in three stages, provided Pakistani engineers with invaluable experience and opportunity to undertake a task of great complexity and sophistication for the first time in Pakistan. While the consultants for the first stage (Tarbela-Faisalabad) were from Canada and for the second stage (Faisalabad-Guddu) were from USA, the planning, designing and supervision was done entirely by Pakistani engineers from NESPAK. As a result of this experience it was possible to reduce expenses and cost from one stage to another. While the first stage cost the most, the last stage cost the least. A fact worth taking note of is that in the last 24 years electricity generation increased 33 times, rural

electrification 18 times, the number of consumers 14 times and the per capita rate of consumption (per hour) 11 times. But this rate of consumption is one-fortieth of the rate of consumption of USA, (and many other developed countries) and it is among the lowest in the world. Therefore, while we may have come a long way, we have yet a long way to go.

CSO: 4600/497

DELEGATION FOR CHINA LEAVES VIA KHUNJERAB

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 11 Apr 84 p 10

[Text] GILGIT, April 10: A seven-member Pakistani goodwill delegation headed by the Federal Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas, Lt.-Gen. Jamal Saeed Mian, left Gilgit for Sinkiang Province of the People's Republic of China via Khunjerab border yesterday.

The delegation consists of the members of Majlis-i-Shoora from Northern Areas, representatives of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas Division and Deputy Commissioner Gilgit District. The delegation will visit Kasghar, autonomous region of Sinkiang and Beijing.

During their stay in China the delegation is expected to discuss matters of bilateral interest.

While departing Gilgit for Sinkiang, the Federal Minister for Kashmir Affairs said that Pakistan and China have identical views on all the regional and global issues. He said that the Pak-Chinese friendship was based on traditional principles of bilateral relations and mutual understanding. He said that Pakistan-Chinese friendship has withstood the test of the times and the recent visit of Chinese President to Pakistan has further cemented these ties.

The delegation is expected to stay in China for about 10 days.

CSO: 4600/497

## REMOVAL OF QADIANIS FROM KEY JOBS DEMANDED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 11 Apr 84 p 10

[Text] FAISALABAD, April 10: A grand Khatme Kabuwat conference was held here last night under auspices of Majlise Amal Khatme Nabuwat, with Maulana Khan Mohammad Khan in the chair.

The conference was addressed by prominent ulema of all sects including Aziz Hussain Ahmed Former Secretary General of defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, Maulana Ziaul Qasmi, Sahibzada Iftikharul Hassan, Maulana Manzoor Ahmed Chinioti and Maulana Shakoor Dinpuri also addressed the meeting.

The conference adopted certain resolutions unanimously demanding immediate recovery of Maulana Mohammad Aslam Qureshi of Sialkot and arrest of Mirza Tahir Ahmed. The conference cautioned that in case the Government fail to recover the Maulana dead or alive the Majlise Amal will adopt other measures.

Through another resolution, the conference demanded that the Government immediately accept and implement the recommendations of the Islamic Ideology Council and enforce complete Islamic order in the country to provide speedy and cheeper justice to people and weed out corruption and other social evils from the society.

The conference adopted a resolution demanding immediate removal of Qadianis from all key-posts. The conference observed that since Ahmedis had been declared minority by the Government they should live in the country as minority and refrain from propagating against Islam and ulema.

The conference assured that in case they accept this reality ulema of all sects would pledge for their safety.

The meeting also decided to hold a similar conference in Islamabad on April 27.

CSO: 4600/497

## BRIEFS

STUDENT COUNCILS BEING PLANNED--MULTAN, April 10: Students Educational Councils will be set up in colleges and schools after imposition of a ban on teachers associations throughout the country. Informed sources told this correspondent that the education councils of students would be headed by the heads of the respective educational institutions. These councils will consist of a representative of teachers, a representative of students, a councillor of the respective area and a representative of parents. According to the informed sources these councils would not take part in any political activities nor issue any Press statements. These education councils will only work within the educational institutions and hold seminars on educational problems, arrange functions on important occasions and arrange academic, literary and social activities. [Text] [Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 11 Apr 84 p 5]

KARACHI OMBUDSMAN'S OFFICE--SARGODHA, April 10: While the regional office of the Ombudsman (Wafaqi Mohtasib) will start functioning in Karachi within the next few days, three others at Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta, are expected to take shape by the end of June. Regional office members will be on the rank of Additional Secretary of the Federal Government. The regional offices will entertain complaints and dispose them of within the relevant law. The opening of the offices which was provided in the set-up of the working of the Ombudsman's office are supposed to cover a considerable workload of public complaints whose number is growing along with the popularity of the Ombudsman's office. The Ombudsman will tour the Regional offices and consider important complaints besides personally evaluating the working of the offices. [Text] [Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 11 Apr 84 p 5]

AAKRA DAM SPADEWORK BEGINS--Gwadur, March 21--Spadework on the construction of Rs. 170 million Aakra Dam across the River Aakra, about 40 kms from here, has begins to conserve rain and floodwater for irrigation and drinking purposes. According to official sources, the earth-fill dam commanding a catchment area of 350 sq miles would have storage capacity of 10,000 acre feet.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 22 Mar 84 p 10]

ACTING TEHRIK-E ISTIQLAL PRESIDENT--Peshawar, April 1--Mian Mehmud Ali Kasuri Vice-President elect was unanimously chosen to act as the President of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal. The Central Working Committee which met here at the residence of Syed Munir Shah completed its central party office bearers elections. Mr Asil Fasihuddin Wardak has been elected as Secretary-General. Four persons Mian Mehmud Ali Kasuri (Punjab), Mushir Ahmed Pesh Imam and Nisar Khoro (Sind) and Mir Haji Tareen (Baluchistan) have been elected Vice-Presidents of the party. Dr Pervez Hasan and Khurshid Mehmud Kasuri have been elected unopposed as Finance Secretary and Information Secretary respectively.--PPI. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Apr 84 p 6]



EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL POWERS DISCUSSED

BK181203 Colombo WEEKEND in English 11 Mar 84 p 7

[By Rex De Silva]

[Text] Ms Indira Gandhi is not a person to engage herself in prolonged discussions with visiting foreign dignitaries. Particularly if the talks are held without aides.

The last time she had one of her unusually lengthy discussions was when she met President J. R. Jayewardene during his visit to New Delhi during the Commonwealth Summit. The two leaders had every reason to go into details on bilateral relations and also talk about peace and stability in the region.

Once again Ms Gandhi did deviate from her usual diplomatic style. She reportedly held prolonged discussions on military affairs with visiting Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov on not less than two occasions. Although they would have used at least half the time for interpretations, the fact remains that they did delve deeply on India's defence against a threat from outside.

According to well-informed sources in New Delhi, the Russians have virtually agreed to underwrite India's defence with heavy induction of arms not second to the arsenals provided by their arch-rival to neighbouring Pakistan. And the two South Asian giants beefed up as they are with modern weaponry have brought the global arms race and the big power rivalry menacingly close to the shores of Lanka.

At the end of the prolonged talkathon between Ms Gandhi and Marshal Ustinov was a mighty package of armaments admittedly provided by the Soviets to take on the rival hardware from the United States which Pakistan had already obtained which the Indians claim was "beyond its legitimate requirements."

The weapons that will now be supplied by the Russians with "a great sense of urgency" will comprise jet fighters missiles, warships, electronic systems and advanced weaponry. Though details of this package deal are still classified, well informed military strategists are convinced that Moscow had agreed to provide New Delhi with the latest model of the MIG and newly developed tanks.

A few years ago, speaking in the Rajya Sabha, Indian Defence Minister R. Venkataraman confirmed his country's desire to obtain improved versions of the MIG though not the powerful MIG-29 which would be far superior to the F-16 and Mirage 2000.

As the Soviets and Indians discussed military hardware half a dozen F-16 Fighter planes arrived in Pakistan from Washington.

If Ustinov had agreed to provide the MIG-29 to meet the challenges of sophisticated jets that Pakistan has, then Islamabad might even try to seek more powerful ones from the States thus aggravating the arms race.

Fortunately both India and Pakistan have not been seeking nuclear weaponry so far. But the more they go for killer weaponry to outsmart each other's arsenals one cannot rule out the entry of nuclear weapons into the fray. Defence Minister Venkataraman was insistent about India's determination to stay with conventional weapons because it enjoys superiority in the power balance with Pakistan.

But according to latest press reports from New Delhi the defence minister was rather non-committal on what India would do in case Pakistan develops a nuclear bomb. Since India possesses the capability in this regard one cannot really dismiss the possibility of India having her own bomb in the future.

Ironically the subjects that were discussed by Ustinov and Indian Defence counterparts according to official sources centered on the missiles crisis, dangers of arms race and the need for detente. But in general the talks were held at a highly confidential level. Particularly because of the sensitive arms deals worked out.

The Soviet minister, who had to postpone his visit on the eve of Andropov's death, did not lose any time in coming to India although the Kremlin was still engaged in a process of finalising its hierarchy as well as holding elections. Obviously the Indian visit was vital for both sides.

One of the most significant aspects of the visit was the presence of the Soviet Naval Chief Admiral Sergey Gorshkov in the delegation. Moscow would have had very good reasons to send this whiz-kid military strategist who is believed to have become an admiral at the age of 30. He had been at the helm of the Russian Navy for almost 3 decades.

His visit with Ustinov and the fact that they brought along several other top rung naval men proves one thing in particular. That the Soviets are becoming very interested in the Indian Ocean, especially with all these rumours, speculation and claims that the Americans have sought naval facilities in South Asia viz in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Lanka. Although these claims have been denied, both India and the Soviet Union are still taking them literally with a pinch of salt. [as published]

Speaking in Parliament, the Indian defence minister stressed that his government will continue to regard the situation as if the U.S. has obtained bases despite those denials.

The Soviet visitors have had an on-the-spot survey of Indian naval facilities including the Russian assisted base in Visakhapatnam and a military factory near Madras.

Something rather relevant to Lanka is that the Indian Government plans to deepen the Palk Straits and enhance its naval defences. The idea behind this project, known as the "Sethu Samundram" is to enable naval units to move from east to west quickly instead of going round Sri Lanka. Lanka should watch this operation with deep interest as it will be very close to our territorial waters.

While India continues to beef itself up with Soviet arms and continues its militarist deals with a superpower, it is rather strange that it deems it right to accuse Lanka of selling out to the Americans every time an American politician happens to stop over in Colombo. Such double-speak in diplomatic affairs is certainly not very conducive to India's nonalignment.

The latest Soviet overtures like helping India revamp its defence strategy had come at a time when the flashpoint of big power rivalry had homed in on the Indian Ocean region. More specifically near the Gulf.

India has not only expressed apprehensions about possible U.S. facilities in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Lanka but it has understandable fears over the construction of air bases by Pakistan. For instance the Gilgit base in Kashmir is believed to be constructed with Chinese assistance.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Narasima Rao spoke in Parliament on Friday to reassure the politicians that the U.S. had denied any plans to obtain bases in the neighbouring states including Lanka.

The U.S. denial of course came by way of Howard Schaffer, the assistant secretary of state who visited Lanka and reiterated the same denial.

Schaffer denied to the Indian Government the claims made by certain politicians and media there that the Americans were planning to have facilities in Trincomalee, Chittagong and St Martins Island in Bangladesh and in the Makran coast of Pakistan.

Whether the Indians are truly convinced about the U.S. claim is doubtful, especially in the light of the latest remark by Venkataraman in Parliament. Even Rao was very diplomatic when he said that the Indian Government will continue to watch developments while taking note of the U.S. denials as well as the denials by Bangladesh and Pakistan.

In fact New Delhi will presumably take the issues of foreign bases up at the next Indo-Pakistan talks that are scheduled to be held on 12 May. This is very much a relevant topic that needs clarification as the two rivals deliberate on the much desired "No war" pact.

Then again in June when the Indian foreign office big wig meets with their Chinese counterparts in June the big power infiltrations in South Asia will be on the agenda.

Right now the xenophobia that India has over the big powers particularly the U.S. in view of its militarist umbilical chord with Pakistan is conceivable. It's unfounded fears about Lanka providing bases to the Americans are a by-products of this reverberating anxiety.

As Ustinov was having a tete a tete with Ms Gandhi on Thursday her Foreign Minister Rao made an impassioned plea in the Lok Sabha to convene the Colombo conference on the Indian Ocean Peace not later than 1985. He said that the UN, the Nonaligned Movement and Indian Ocean States must ensure that the conference is somehow held at least by the middle of next year.

Rao said that his government views the military presence of the great powers in the ocean, with concern as it generates tensions and an arms race that threatened the security of India and the peace and stability of the region. The only way to curb this threat was to hold the Colombo meeting and also ensure the presence of the powers who should be asked to remove their military presence from the region.

Skeptics have already sounded reservations on India's own intentions about the conference and the sought after diplomatic cloud to get rid of the big powers. [sentence as published]

Now with heavy inductions to its arsenals and expansion of its naval capabilities these observers have become more pronounced in their own anxieties and apprehensions over the emergence of a regional power rivalry that may well be a danger to the small nonaligned nations like Lanka. The growing incidence of destabilisation within the small countries perhaps with outside assistance is something that should not be overlooked in a greater overview of national and regional security.

CSO: 4600/505

ARTICLE URGES OPENING TRADE CONSULATE IN HONG KONG

Colombo DAILY MIRROR in English 28 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Patrick Cruez]

[Text] Sri Lanka must establish a strong and active Trade Consulate in Hong Kong if the island hopes to draw investors pulling out of the British colony before it is absorbed by the People's Republic of China by the year 1999.

Hong Kong based businessmen visiting Sri Lanka said that local investors in Hong Kong were not expanding their business and trading activities and this was a clear indication that they had second thoughts about staying in Hong Kong.

"The 'China fear' syndrome has subsided to a certain extent but non expansion was a clear indication that there will be a sizeable pull-out before the colony is absorbed by mainland China," the businessmen said.

Sending investment promotion missions into Hong Kong was a good move but having a full time, active Trade Consulate is a must if Sri Lanka was planning to take a fair share of the investment leaving the colony before it is absorbed by China.

Right now there was no indication that Hong Kong's "status quo" would change because the British Government has yet to make up its mind whether it will stick to the China-British agreement on the future of Hong Kong.

When British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher visited Hong Kong and said that Britain would stick to its commitment about the colony under the agreement with China, there was widespread fears among the business community but this has now faded with time.

The businessmen said that Sri Lanka had the best chances of "collecting most of the chips" when Hong Kong becomes part of mainland China but this could only be achieved through a concerted push to draw the investment.

They pointed out that Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and India were actively wooing both local Hong Kong investors and foreign ones with very active and well staffed Trade Consulates.

India could offer some competition to Sri Lanka in the provision of cheap manpower to Hong Kong investors pulling out of the colony and Sri Lanka has yet to "get on the race track with India."

Last year the Greater Colombo Economic Commission sent a fairly impressive investment promotion team into Hong Kong when news came that the colony would be absorbed by China. The promotion team did notch up some successes but Hong Kong based businessmen feel that a greater impact could be made if Sri Lanka established a full time Trade Consulate in Hong Kong.

CSO: 4600/484



# INDO-LANKAN TEAMS TO IRON OUT DIFFERENCES

Colombo DAILY MIRROR in English 2 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by Patrick Cruetz]

[Text] An exchange of high level missions between Sri Lanka and India is now a certainty with both countries wanting to clear up misunderstandings, curb exaggerations, explain situations and get somewhat strained relations back to normalcy.

Political sources believe that the Indian mission to explain New Delhi's feelings about what is happening here will be led by Indian Special Envoy Mr. Gopalaswami Parathasarathy. The Lankan mission will comprise some of the country's top level career diplomats and might be headed by a key Minister.

Sri Lanka has maintained friendly and cordial relations with her big neighbour, India, for thousands of years although on and off events on both sides of the Palk Straits tended to sour them. The ownership of Kachchativa and the Indo-Lanka agreement on expatriation of stateless persons of Indian origin generated some heat but they were nothing compared to the feelings after last July's disturbances and the events thereafter.

Sources said that both New Delhi and Colombo were anxious to put relations back to normally fast and this could only be achieved through the exchange of views on a personal basis by both sides.

India has stoutly held on to its "no terrorist training camps" denial and Sri Lanka has maintained its position that the camps exist and has called repeatedly for a joint Indo-Lanka investigation to clear the problem once and for all.

While at high governmental level there are moves afoot to bring relations back to normalcy, the media on both sides of the Palk Strait continues to bash each other (see reproduction of "Hindu" story on this page) which, official sources said was doing everything "not to help" the two countries put their relations back to what they were before last July.

An indication that India wants to restrain "hot heads" making rash and irresponsible statements came last week when Lok Sabha Deputy Speaker, Mr G. Lakshmanan called on March 28 upon members to exercise restraint in reacting to the reported incidents involving Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Colombo in turn recalled two top level Sri Lankan diplomats based in New Delhi and Madras who are currently being briefed about the exact situation in Sri Lanka and the many steps taken by the Government to bring about a lasting solution to the ethnic problems here and to prevent a recurrence of July, 1983.

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